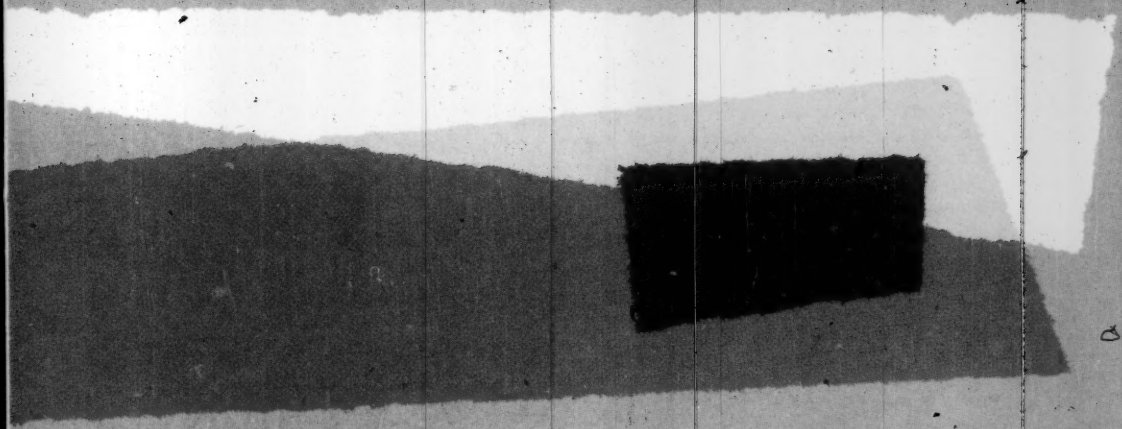
50 CENTS FEBRUARY 1961

THE PROGRESSIVE



THE EVICTED Fred R. Travis

LINCOLN AND KENNEDY Richard N. Current

YOUTH FOR PEACE Henry S. Reuss

Office memo

"BECAUSE I have lived in Venezuela for the past eight years," writes William C. Green, "*The Progressive* remained unknown to me until I entered George School, a private high school in Bucks County, in eastern Pennsylvania. Many students here read *The Progressive*, thanks to your special school subscription offer.

"Unfortunately, in Caracas we are confronted too frequently with choice samples of America's 'outstanding' publications. The majority of Venezuelans know only of the notoriously sensationalistic tripe that always rates high with so many Americans, at home and abroad.

"Will *The Progressive* ever be able effectively to counteract these poorer magazines?"

We are trying, William Green, and on several fronts *The Progressive* is making substantial progress. As we reported last month, readers in 107 countries are now finding in *The Progressive* an antidote to the "tripe" of which you write. Our readership here at home is at an all-time high. Each school semester, an increasing number of high school and college students are becoming acquainted with the magazine—as did William Green—through our special school subscription offer.

For just one dollar per student a semester, we will send ten or more copies of *The Progressive* in a bundle to a single address. Teachers throughout the United States are taking advantage of this opportunity to supplement their students' classroom reading, and stimulate discussion, often exposing their students to publications like *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Progressive* at the same time. Orders may be sent to School Department, *The Progressive*, Madison 3, Wisconsin.

●

The re-publication this fall of Robert M. LaFollette, Sr.'s, *Autobiography*, by the University of Wisconsin Press, has inspired us to launch a large-scale drive to gain new readers, using the book as an inducement. We are offering the book free to attract *new* readers who may not feel sufficiently acquainted with *The Progressive* to justify purchasing a subscription without some special offer. We cannot afford to give the book to those renewing current subscriptions.

This particular special offer is being made to many thousands of members of various organizations and subscribers to liberal publications with which we exchange mailing lists. Readers of *The Progressive* may receive one, or several, of these introductory subscription offers, and wonder why—it seems so wasteful and inefficient.

The explanation is that the cost of checking each of these mailing lists against our own, to eliminate duplication, would run fifty to a hundred times more than the expense of those letters which are "wasted."

Any subscriber who receives an introductory offer would do a good turn by passing it on to a friend who might share an interest in *The Progressive*.

VOLUME 25 NUMBER 2

The

FOUNDED IN 1909 BY ROBERT M. LaFOLLETTE, Sr.

FEBRUARY, 1961

EDITOR MORRIS H. RUBIN
ASSOCIATE EDITOR MARY SHERIDAN
ASSOCIATE EDITOR JOHN McGRATH
BUSINESS MANAGER GORDON SINYKIN
OFFICE STAFF ROSE L. REDISKE
HELEN KLEPPE, DOROTHY BEYLER
BETTY HAMRE, ELEANOR WIND

3 **THE BEGINNING**
Editorial

5 **NOTES IN THE NEWS**

10 **THE EVICTED**
Fred Travis

13 **LINCOLN AND KENNEDY**
Richard N. Current

16 **YOUTH FOR PEACE**
Henry S. Reuss

18 **OUR CAPTIVE AGENCIES**
Edward P. Morgan

20 **CUBA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND OURS**
James O'Connor

24 **EITHER—OR**
Sir Charles P. Snow

26 **THE URGENT NEED FOR MEDICAL MANPOWER**
Selig Greenberg

29 **WIND OF CHANGE IN CENTRAL AFRICA**
Clyde Sanger

33 **THE PRISONER**
Murray Kempton

34 **CONFLICT ON THE CAMPUS**
Erwin Knoll

38 **THE NEW NEGRO ON SCREEN**
Martin S. Dworkin

41 **THE PEOPLE'S FORUM**

45 **BOOKS**

The Progressive makes no attempt to exact complete conformity from its contributors, but rather welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its general policies. Signed articles, therefore, do not necessarily represent the opinion of the management of the magazine.

THE PROGRESSIVE is published monthly. Copyright 1961 by The Progressive, Inc., 408 Gorham Street, Madison 3, Wisconsin. Second-class postage paid at Madison, and Waterloo, Wisconsin.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICES: U.S. and foreign—One year $5; Two years $9; Three years $12.

MANUSCRIPTS: The Progressive cannot assume responsibility for unsolicited articles and letters. None will be returned unless so requested and accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope.

Printed in U.S.A.

PROGRESSIVE

"YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH
AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE"

The Beginning

PRESIDENT John F. Kennedy's inaugural summons to the Soviets to join with us in embarking anew on the quest for peace marked the hopeful beginning of the Administration of the nation's thirty-fifth President. Mr. Kennedy managed to reassert his campaign insistence on the deterrent power of massive armed might and to reaffirm a rather truculent adherence to the Monroe Doctrine, but mostly he talked of the compelling need for negotiated peace.

Mr. Kennedy offered to cooperate with the Communist rulers in the pursuit of peace "before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction."

"Let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof," he declared. "Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate. Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms—and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations."

The President's reference to arms control rather than disarmament diluted some of our enthusiasm for an otherwise excellent presentation of the need for negotiation. The tendency to emphasize control instead of disarmament has cropped up before in Administration circles. It represents, in our judgment, a disturbing failure to recognize that there is no halfway house in the arms race, that nothing short of complete, universal disarmament will banish the corroding fear of a nuclear holocaust.

In this connection, it is deeply significant to ponder the farewell words of James J. Wadsworth as he retired from his post as our ambassador to the United Nations. In an interview that was almost wholly ignored by the nation's press, Wadsworth, a conservative Republican with impeccable anti-Communist credentials, asserted that *"the Soviet government has every intention of living up to any agreement it may make from the standpoint of nuclear tests or on broader disarmament issues."*

Wadsworth's good-by comments have special importance because few if any Americans have worked as long and as closely in negotiation with the Soviets as he has. For many patience-cracking months he represented us in the nuclear test talks in Geneva and thereafter served with distinction as ambassador to the United Nations.

To return to the beginnings of the Kennedy Administration, what we liked most about the inaugural address was the President's firm insistence that we will help the underprivileged of the world—not because it helps us in combating Communism, but because it is the right thing to do.

"To those people in the huts and villages of half the world struggling to break the bonds of mass misery [we pledge] our best efforts to help them help themselves. Not because the Communists are doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If the free society cannot help the many who are poor, it can never save the few who are rich."

"Daughter and I Are All Set for the Honeymoon"

This sentiment made us happy. Had President Kennedy gone on to propose, as have so many forward-looking Americans, that we make available, without any strings, some of the food piled high in our bulging bins, to the Russians and the Chinese, who have suffered severe crop failures, our rejoicing would have been even greater.

Mr. Kennedy spoke little of domestic affairs in his inaugural address. That will come later when he fires a series of messages to the Eighty-seventh Congress. His will be a tough road—and a lonely one. The forces of reaction are massing against the liberal planks of the Democratic platform. From their vantage posts of seniority, and emboldened by their bargaining power with conservative Republicans, Southern Senators and Representatives are kicking up their heels in preparation for their struggle against a progressive program.

Before his inauguration Mr. Kennedy had put together his team of assistants. They are a mixed bag, and we have mixed reactions. As a group, they are cool, competent, devoted men, and some would seem to have considerable capacity. But they hardly add up to the team you would choose to blast a roadway across the New Frontier. Most of them seem bland and passionless, lacking in zest and zeal for great adventure.

The three most conservative members of the Cabinet, Treasury Secretary C. Douglas Dillon, Defense Secre-

tary Robert S. McNamara, and Commerce Secretary Luther Hodges, are unusually gifted men—patriots in the best sense of the word—but conservatives nonetheless. Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Abraham Ribicoff is almost equally conservative but less gifted. Secretary of State Dean Rusk remains an enigma to us, but we have a feeling he will be a considerable improvement over his most recent predecessors. Clearly Mr. Kennedy expects to be his own Secretary of State. The appointment of Robert Kennedy as Attorney General strikes us as a mistake; he has neither the training nor the devotion to civil liberties the job demands. But we have a hunch he may turn out to be the big and pleasant surprise in the Cabinet.

The three younger liberals in the Cabinet are excellent choices. Labor Secretary Arthur Goldberg, Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman, and Interior Secretary Stewart Udall have proved their capacity and demonstrated their progressivism under fire. We look to them to provide what thunder from the left will be heard at Cabinet meetings.

Curiously, President Kennedy showed a greater willingness to appoint men of nerve, verve, and imagination to posts of secondary rank than to his Cabinet. If he couldn't be Secretary of State, Adlai E. Stevenson is the perfect choice as ambassador to the United Nations. Chester Bowles should make a creative Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs, although we confess to some dismay over what seemed to us a weaseling position when he testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee prior to his confirmation. Mennen Williams, we imagine, will do a first-class job as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Newton N. Minow as chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, and W. Willard Wirtz as Undersecretary of Labor, two Stevenson law partners, are superior selections.

Our enthuiasm for some of the others is more restrained. Paul H. Nitze, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Affairs, and McGeorge Bundy, top security officer, are able men but too much wedded, for our money, to the rigidly negative views of Dean Acheson. Averell Harriman, Mr. Kennedy's ambassador-at-large, has had enormous experience, but he seems to us to live too much in the past. John Connally, appointed Secretary of the Navy, is reported to be waist-deep in some of the less savory aspects of oil politics.

The Kennedy appointment that gives us the most trouble is that of John J. McCloy, who was chosen to head our disarmament effort. A Wall Street lawyer and banker, McCloy is a man of considerable charm, superior ability, and undoubted integrity. But we share the concern of Washington columnist Marquis W. Childs over whether he possesses the "boldness and imagination to rise to the challenge of the extraordinarily difficult disarmament tangle." No phase of the foreign policy field strikes us as more demanding than disarmament, but even now there is disturbing emphasis in Administration circles on "arms control" rather than complete, universal disarmament, as we indicated above. We hope Mr. Kennedy's goals range much wider than that, and that McCloy will soon make this clear to the country and the world.

The new Administration takes office at a time of unparalleled crisis and opportunity. Few problems are immediately so challenging and demanding as those of Latin America, and Mr. Kennedy showed his awareness of this fact of life by giving special attention to our southern neighbors in his inaugural address. The Eisenhower Administration fumbled the problem for eight years and, in its closing weeks, stumbled to the edge of disaster. Its recent handling of the crisis over Cuba was morally wrong and incredibly stupid; it succeeded only in playing into the hands of those we sought to intimidate and humiliate.

With hardly a fortnight left to serve, and only hours before United Nations debate on Cuban charges of United States aggression was to begin, President Eisenhower clumsily broke off diplomatic relations with the Castro regime. At the very moment that the emotional Cuban leader was warning his people of invasion, we sent a super-carrier to Guantanamo Bay, its decks crammed with jet aircraft. When invasion jitters were reaching their frenzied peak on the unhappy island, we dispatched twice the usual number of men and guns to Latin American waters for a "long planned" training mission. This is the kind of perilous folly that President Kennedy must end.

Equally disturbing is the disclosure that American money and men are being used to build a secret airfield and train mysterious commando-like forces in the Retalhuleu area in Guatemala. The Guatemalan government, which is very much our baby, denies that the field and the forces are being readied for invasion of Cuba and insists that its purpose is purely defensive. If this is so, why has it enforced so much secrecy, and why is it building its defensive field and training center on the opposite end of its country from which an invasion from Cuba could come?

Our own government has maintained a tight-lipped silence. When a reporter asked a State Department specialist in Latin American affairs about the secret base, he responded: "Don't ask us about it, ask the spooks—the Central Intelligence Agency." This flip reply tended to strengthen fears that the CIA is masterminding a multi-million dollar anti-Castro operation in Central America. The CIA has become a government within a government, operating in darkest secrecy in the most sensitive areas of American foreign policy. President Kennedy must apply a firm hand to this runaway agency before it launches the nation on an irreversible course of suicidal aggression.

More affirmatively, however, President Kennedy is faced with the compelling need to embark on a wide-ranging review of all the factors that contributed to the collapse of Cuban-American relations in the hope that some common ground can be found for negotiation. Perhaps it is too late, but the Castro government has hinted that it would welcome a chance to talk with the new Administration. Such a course may not be popular at the moment with a populace driven to hate by hysterical headlines, but we remain convinced that it would be an act of great statesmanship for Mr. Kennedy to seek a new approach to the crisis of Cuba.

Cuba, of course, is only one phase of the deeper problem of all Latin America—a problem greatly exacer-

bated by a decade of neglect and indifference on the part of both the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations. President Kennedy will be heading in the right direction if he ponders and acts on the warning of one of our best and best informed friends in all Latin America, Jose Figueres, former president of Costa Rica and confidant and consultant on Latin American affairs to government officials.

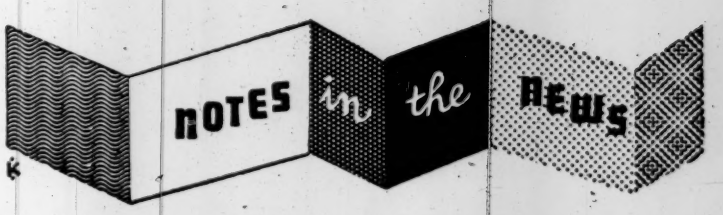
"Latin America is in a revolutionary mood," he said. "It has a great deal to change. *It is too late for a slow-paced revolution.*"

Senor Figueres warned that the United States has failed to respond to the deep stirrings in this hemisphere—and the Communists have. One of the most urgent facts of life that the Kennedy Administration confronts is that this is true all over the world. A. M. Rosenthal, roving correspondent for the New York *Times*, recently reported after a swing through Africa:

"Everywhere the visitor goes in Africa he feels the stirring and the demand. He finds something he had expected: the eager and purposeful Soviet campaign to get an economic foothold in Africa. But he also finds something he had not expected and that depresses him: a feeling of near-panic among many Westerners that this awakening is too big for the West to handle."

Rosenthal encountered one young American diplomat in Africa who had not yet bowed to the immensity of the challenge. His desperate cry seemed to sum up both the plight of our present position and the opportunity that confronts us. "Isn't this really what we want and what we are supposed to stand for?" he demanded. "Why should we be afraid of it? Why can't we help it and shape it instead of biting our fingernails?"

Here, in the anguished lament of a frustrated American in Africa, is the challenge that confronts the Kennedy Administration. That is why we were so happy to hear President Kennedy say on Inauguration Day that our best efforts to break the bonds of mass misery in the world will come—not because these efforts will win votes or because the Communists are "doing it"—but because these efforts are right.



First Impressions of the 87th

Our first impression of the Eighty-seventh Congress was that there was a heap of Lyndon Johnson all over the place. Our second impression was that this is not necessarily good for the country. Not content with his role of Vice President, or that of grand panjandrum of our space effort, or exalted czar of Federal contracts, the hungry Texan managed to get himself tapped as the "logical choice" to serve as presiding genius over Democratic strategy in the Senate.

The first result was disaster for the progressive cause. By a vote of fifty to forty-six, the Senate decided against acting on proposals to modify the power of the Southern bloc to filibuster legislation to death. A switch of two Democratic votes would have reversed the outcome. The leader of the forces to scuttle immediate action was Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, majority spokesman in the Senate who, as Johnson's protege, allows his predecessor to call the tune.

The Democratic platform is quite clear. It urged that "action be taken *at the beginning of the Eighty-seventh Congress* to improve Congressional procedures so that majority rule prevails and decisions can be made after reasonable debate without being blocked by a minority of either house." (Emphasis added.)

But Mansfield, an unusually able and decent Senator on his own, although given to bouts of moral paralysis while under Johnson's spell, tore up this platform pledge and surrendered to the South even before the battle began. He did it, he said, in the interest of "party unity"—as though party unity were somehow more sacred than the party's promise to the people.

Southern Democrats predictably stood solidly against reform when the showdown came. So did eighteen right-wing Republicans. The crucial votes were cast by six Western Democrats who lined up with the Dixie-dominated coalition. They were Senators Bartlett of Alaska, Bible of Nevada, Hickey and McGee of Wyoming, Long of Hawaii, and Mansfield of Montana. We hope readers of *The Progressive* who live in those states will make generous use of the facilities of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, Western Union, and the United States mails to pay their respects to these Senators. Their joint address is the Senate Office Building in Washington.

It Has Come to This

It would be difficult to overestimate the significance of the Senate's action in voting against acting *now* on proposals to amend Rule XXII—which requires a vote of two-thirds of the Senators present to halt a filibuster. In contending successfully for his proposal to have the reform amendments sent to the Senate Rules Committee for further study, Mansfield promised that the Committee would send at least one of two liberalizing amendments back to the Senate for action later in the session. Why then such a fuss about acting immediately?

The answer is to be found in the clashing concepts over whether the Senate is or is not a "continuing body." Some Senators, mostly the Southerners, insist that the Senate goes on session after session as a continuing body. Adherence to this view means that any change in the rules at any time requires a two-thirds vote. Other Senators, mostly Northern liberals, are convinced that each two-year session marks the beginning of a new Senate which can adopt its own rules at the outset by majority vote.

During the first two weeks of the newly convened Senate, former Vice President Richard M. Nixon was still its presiding officer. He was prepared to rule, as he had made clear in an

advisory opinion, that the Senate could change its rules at the opening of each session by majority vote. Had Majority Leader Mansfield produced his own and one other vote, or, while we are at it, if President—then President-elect—Kennedy had picked up the telephone and made two calls, the long and bitter struggle against the filibuster could have been won.

Mansfield, as we have reported above, has promised action later in the session. But a proposal to change the rules then will permit filibustering debate unless ended by an impossible-to-attain two-thirds vote. This means that the liberals' next hope shifts to the Eighty-eighth Congress which convenes in January, 1963. But, unlike Nixon, the ubiquitous Lyndon Johnson, who will be presiding over the Senate, seems wedded to the notion that the Senate is a continuing body and that a two-thirds vote would be required to change the rules even in the opening days of the new session. All of which leaves us where we started so many years ago. It seems almost inconceivable that we, who have said what we have about Nixon, have come to this on *this* issue: we would feel more comfortable and hopeful if Nixon, rather than Johnson, were presiding over the Senate when and if the long delayed showdown comes.

Footnote to the Above

From the New York Post

"Amid the filibuster disaster, Mansfield committed a peculiarly discreditable and vengeful act that dishonors the new Administration.

"In a clear reprisal for Senator Joseph Clark's distinguished leadership of the anti-filibuster fight, Mansfield denied Clark, Pennsylvania Democrat, the seat to which he was obviously entitled on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. What is worse, the position has been given to Sen. Dodd, Connecticut Democrat, who has shown every prospect of becoming the Joe McCarthy of the Democratic Party.

"Clark happens to have a clear claim to seniority over Dodd. But that dubious advantage seems to be invoked exclusively in behalf of Southern Democrats.

"Only small children will believe this was done without Mr. Kennedy's knowledge."

Herblock in The Washington Post

"Some of These Days, You're Gonna Miss Me, Honey—"

The Lower House

The Senate's traditional insistence on conducting itself as a gentlemen's club, where protocol is more important than principle, did not, happily, interfere with the conduct of the more plebian House of Representatives, whose members must make a public accounting of their stewardship every two instead of every six years. House leadership proposed to achieve significant reform of the Rules Committee, which up to now had permitted half a dozen Representatives to crush the will of the majority of the House, Senate, and the rest of the country.

Speaker Sam Rayburn's reluctant solution—to load the House Rules Committee with enough new members to tip the balance against the Dixie-dominated majority of four Southern Democrats and two Northern Republicans—may not seem like the perfect answer, but if adopted, it might succeed in breaking down some of the barriers to liberal legislation. Here, we suspect from all we have heard, President Kennedy's role was decisive. He seemed to think that it was far more important to clear the decks for social and economic legislation, which the House Rules Committee might scuttle, unless reformed, than it was to give the Senate the right to majority rule on civil rights progress, which he thought he might achieve through vigorous executive action rather than legislative enactment.

Minnesota's Senator Hubert Humphrey, whom we respect greatly, seemed to be presenting this explanation in behalf of the Kennedy Administration when he told a New York City audience that it could look forward to strong, prompt executive action—as opposed to Congressional decision—aimed at new civil rights gains, especially in combating discrimination in employment, housing, and voting rights. We hope Humphrey is right. No problem on the domestic front packs a greater need for urgent, militant action than this challenge in the field of civil rights.

The Professors Ride Again

Once upon a time, professors were embattled crusaders, riding off to combat evil wherever it existed. They were forever signing petitions, forming protest committees, and haranguing legislative bodies in their everlasting pursuit of reform. Their vibrant idealism inspired countless students to become socially conscious leaders of the communities to which they returned after graduation.

In more recent years, however, the voice of crusading idealism has been stilled on most of our campuses. As a group, professors raise fewer eyebrows in the community and considerably less hell in the country. Many of them prefer to be regarded as tough-minded realists rather than reforming idealists, as though never the twain could meet. The aftermath of war is doubtless responsible in part. McCarthyism, of course, with its savage assaults on all non-conformity, was decisive in banking the fires of dissent and reform.

All this is but prologue to an exciting bit of news that reached our desk the other day: the professors, or some of them, are riding again! Thirty-one of them, all historians representing twenty-three major colleges and universities across the country, have signed a petition calling on President Kennedy and Secretary of State Dean Rusk not to allow the dead hand of the past to determine the foreign policy of the new Administration.

Mindful, perhaps, of the still lingering suspicion of egghead idealism, the historians addressed themselves to the "realities" of the world

crisis. "As historians," they wrote the President and his chief foreign policy adviser, "we have a commitment to realities. It is our conviction that a new course in world affairs must confront these realities. This means major readjustments and vigorous initiatives. We believe that the United States can no longer postpone active consideration of the following issues:

"**One**—A program for a nuclear test ban and comprehensive arms control which recognizes the necessity of accepting considerable risks in order to avoid the far greater risks of continuing the arms race. Insistence upon priority for a near-perfect system of inspection and control only insures the continuation of the present impasse and permits unrestricted development and geographic spread of nuclear weapons.

"**Two**—Diplomatic recognition of the People's Republic of China as a step in the quest for a peaceful solution to the smouldering relationship between the governments of Formosa and China. Recognition is also essential for an effective program to check the further spread of nuclear weapons.

"**Three**—Diplomatic recognition of the Democratic Republic of Germany [East Germany] as a step in the quest for a peaceful solution to the precarious status of Berlin."

This professors' petition represents such a hopeful and historic break with the deadening conformity of the recent past that we are moved to provide the space for the complete honor roll of those who signed it:

Reginald F. Arragon, Reed College; J. Leonard Bates, University of Illinois; Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University; Eugene Boardman, University of Wisconsin; William B. Bristol, Union College; Edward M. Burns, Rutgers University; Vernon Carstensen, University of Wisconsin; John M. Caughey, University of California at Los Angeles; Thomas C. Cochran, University of Pennsylvania; E. David Cronon, University of Nebraska; Alexander DeConde, University of Michigan; Richard Drinnon, University of California; Arthur A. Ekirch, American University; E. James Ferguson, University of Maryland; Robert H. Ferrell; Indiana University; Robert Forster, University of Nebraska; Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., Vanderbilt University; Samuel P. Hays, University of Pittsburgh; Henry B. Hill, University of Wisconsin; Harold M. Hyman, University of California at Los Angeles; Frederic C. Lane, Johns Hopkins University; Richard Lowitt, Connecticut College; Jackson T. Main, San Jose State College; Horace S. Merrill, University of Maryland; John A. Monroe, University of Delaware; William L. Neumann, Goucher College; Kenneth M. Stampp, University of California; Paul A. Varg, Michigan State University; Kenneth O. Walker, Goucher College; Richard L. Watson, Jr., Duke University; William A. Williams, University of Wisconsin.

It is not obligatory, of course, to concur completely in all the sentiments expressed by the historians to acclaim the revival of the old spirit of protest and petition. Perhaps we make too much of it, but we are smitten with the hope that this petition represents a harbinger of the restoration, with the coming of the new Administration, of free-wheeling inquiry and militant crusading on the campus and in the country.

Our Own Worst Enemy

The Progressive has frequently exposed the deceit practiced by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Pentagon in their stubborn drive to resume test explosions of deadly nuclear weapons. Recently, a renewed effort has been launched to scuttle the test-ban talks in Geneva and force President John F. Kennedy into commitments which would seriously endanger prospects for a permanent ban on nuclear testing—a prerequisite of any hope for universal disarmament.

In one of its more recent forays into deception, the AEC made headlines by suggesting that the Soviet Union was cheating on the test moratorium. But it turned out—not in the headlines, of course—that the AEC had no evidence to support its reckless charge. It was only voicing a professional "suspicion."

The AEC-Pentagon lobby has also laid down a barrage of propaganda aimed at resuming testing, ostensibly to enable the United States to "catch up" with the Soviets in a race to perfect a neutron "death ray" bomb. Responsible scientists like Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, President Kennedy's special adviser on science, and Dr. Isidor I. Rabi, Nobel prize physicist, quickly exposed the scare stories as an attempt to throw a stumbling block into the test-ban talks.

New Fears, New Hopes

It would seem that after more than two years of discussion in 273 sessions, the nuclear test-ban negotiations at Geneva might have brought us closer to an agreement than we appear to be. Yet in the face of the discouragingly slow pace of progress, and the growing urgency to agree on a test-ban, there are reasons to look forward with fresh hope to the resumption of talks February 7, this time under a new Administration which has shown signs of willingness to explore new avenues to peace.

The test-ban treaty is far from signed, but significant progress has been achieved—in large measure through Ambassador James Wadsworth's persistent patience and efforts. Great Britain, Russia, and the United States have reached agreement on seventeen articles of the treaty, surely a high-water mark in East-West diplomacy. There is much haggling over important details yet to come, but the disagreements on many of the basic principles of the treaty have been resolved.

It would be impossible to overemphasize the crucial importance of an early settlement of the nuclear test agreement. Since the three-way talks began, a new nuclear power, France, has emerged, but is not involved in the discussions. Israel has taken a giant stride in the same direction by completing—with the help of France—a reactor with sufficient capacity to produce nuclear weapons. Israel insists the reactor is for peaceful purposes only, but the secrecy surrounding its construction has raised some somber questions. China is expected to join the world's nuclear powers soon. West Germany is reputed to have developed a simple, far cheaper method of producing nuclear weapons that would put them within the practical reach of a score of nations.

Sir Charles P. Snow, the distinguished British author and scientist, told the American Association for the Advancement of Science in

New York recently that a dozen nations would soon have nuclear bombs, and that within ten years it was a statistically predictable "certainty" that some of these weapons will have exploded, through "accident, or folly, or madness." *(The full text of Sir Charles' remarks appears on Page 24 of this issue.)*

Nevil Shute graphically prophesied this growing fear in a passage in his blood-chilling tale of nuclear destruction, *On the Beach:* "The trouble is, the damn things got too cheap. . . . Every little . . . country could have a stockpile of them, and every little country . . . thought that it could defeat the major countries in a surprise attack."

End of the World (Almost)

The idea of a nuclear war launched by accident may have come frightfully near realization in an incident first revealed by Michael Frayn early in December in the Manchester *Guardian,* confirmed several days later—in a somewhat different version—by the Pentagon, and re-confirmed by Canadian officials in still another variation.

It seems that our early warning radar stations at Thule, Greenland, had picked up, in Michael Frayn's words, "not a squadron of rockets, but a large earth-satellite, of whose existence Intelligence had apparently failed to inform them, called the moon." Fearful that this was the dreaded missile attack, Thule flashed the warning of impending doom to Strategic Air Command headquarters in Omaha.

"What restrained the free world," commented Frayn, "from launching its retaliation weapons during the next half-hour I do not know, unless it was those old-fashioned deterrents, incredulity and funk." The Canadians credit the incredulity of their Air Marshal Roy Slemon, deputy commander of the warning operation, who was in command at the time in the absence of the commander, U.S. General Lawrence Kuter. "Slemon refused to be panicked," in the Canadian version, ". . . [he] reasoned that the information . . . must have been false." The Pentagon reported that Kuter himself had detected the error "in less than sixty seconds," without saying how.

Several aspects of this incident are gravely disturbing.

¶ It occurred on October 5, but was not reported in the American press until two months later, and then only after the *Guardian* had broken the story.

¶ When the story finally came to light, there were at least three variations in important details. Is this because the Pentagon did not know what had happened, or was there an attempt to cover up, or deceive?

¶ The war-scare raised such concern in Britain that it became the subject of formal questioning in Parliament, but received "brush-off" treatment in the United States press and among government officials.

¶ An Associated Press dispatch, commenting on a report that there were two such incidents, quoted SAC as saying "the only *recent* incident was October 5." (Our emphasis.) How often do these false alarms occur?

¶ What if Air Marshal Slemon had "reasoned" that the Thule report was correct? What then? There is such a short time—fifteen to thirty minutes—to check the accuracy of a missile warning that the fate of the world may lie in the snap judgment of one man.

¶ What good is a warning system which is not trusted even by the men who operate it?

This whole frightening affair was treated, as I. F. Stone put it, "as if it concerned a minor piece of plumbing, though a slip-up of this kind might send most of humanity down the drain." Somehow we found cold comfort in SAC's rather vague assurances that, even if the alert had been genuine, there were several optional plans that might have been followed, any one short of war. We keep seeing those missiles irreversibly approaching, 250 miles closer each minute.

Peace Through Patience

The proliferation of nuclear weapons and the mounting threat of an accident that might trigger a holocaust may hasten the conclusion of a test-ban treaty. A report brought back from the Pugwash disarmament conference in Moscow by Professor Walt R. Rostow, adviser to President Kennedy, emphasized that the conference team of top Russian scientists and military leaders expressed official Soviet concern over further delays in establishing a world-wide system of nuclear control. They repeatedly stressed a willingness to go all the way on inspection if the United States would go all the way on disarmament. The Soviets seemed especially concerned over the prospect that China would acquire nuclear arms. And in this connection, President Kennedy went firmly on record last June in favor of bringing Communist China into the nuclear test ban negotiations, a major—and hopeful—shift in United States policy, if the President follows through.

The temptation to become impatient over the interminable nuclear test-ban discussions at Geneva is understandably great, but when the alternative to talking is to cock the global nuclear trigger, there is no limit to the patience we must command.

Our Free Press

The Federal government recently smashed the greatest criminal conspiracy in the seventy-year history of our anti-trust laws. Included among those who confessed their guilt to participating in the the seven billion dollar conspiracy to rig bids and fix prices were such blue-chip giants of American industry as General Electric, Westinghouse, and Allis-Chalmers.

These corporations are, of course, heavy advertisers. It is noteworthy that our free press buried the story of their conviction deep in the inside pages, giving it an almost invisible fraction of the space they devoted to the exposure of a few sordid labor bosses. *Time,* for example, gave sixty per cent more space to the report of the preliminary indictment of Jimmy Hoffa than it did in the same issue to the actual conviction of the huge corporations for engineering a fantastic plot to swindle American consumers and taxpayers out of billions of dollars. (Representative of the collusive practices of the companies convicted were the bids provided TVA for lightning arresters in February, 1959. G.E., Westinghouse, and Ohio Brass bid on the job. Each bid exactly the same as the others down to the last penny—$7,495.38.)

Editorial pages, with a few dis-

tinguished exceptions, like those of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, and, note this, *The Wall Street Journal*, were silent. There were few to criticize the fraudulent practices of corporations which spend so much for public relations, and fewer still to praise the superb prosecution conducted by Robert A. Bicks, acting Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Justice Department's anti-trust division, and his assistants, Baddia J. Rashid and Charles L. Whittinghill. The country owes them a great vote of thanks for breaking up the multi-billion dollar conspiracy and bringing the guilty giants to justice.

S. M. Levitas

The world of significant journalism lost one of its ablest and most dedicated editors when death recently claimed S. M. Levitas, sixty-seven, executive editor of *The New Leader* for thirty years. Samuel M. Levitas—"Sol" as he was known to his countless friends—*was The New Leader* during its years of growth and growing influence.

No editor we know was more successful in wheedling articles out of well-known authors—for free—than the man who ran this deficit-ridden weekly for three decades. He was not above begging—for the publication he loved and the cause it served. He was a kind and gentle man. His eyes sometimes seemed remarkably sad, as when the treasury was barer than usual or the world crisis greater than ever; but sometimes they danced with joy, as when he had published an article that attracted national attention or had encountered some interlude of comedy in the human tragedy.

We have often disagreed with Sol Levitas and *The New Leader*, but we have always admired the competence and courage of the man and his magazine. We shall miss Sol Levitas.

Roosevelt Changes Tactics

Representative James Roosevelt, the California Democrat who distinguished himself last spring in an eloquent, full-scale attack on the House Un-American Activities Committee, has resumed his struggle to rid the country of this inquisition of dubious constitutional authority. But Roosevelt has changed his tactics.

Last year, Roosevelt's attack was frontal—an all-out attempt to abolish the Committee. This year he is settling for the shorter-range objective of carefully scrutinizing the Committee's budget request with a view toward cutting it wherever feasible.

In a letter addressed to his colleagues in the House, Roosevelt explained his switch in tactics by pointing out that "it is still politically dangerous for many members of Congress to express by means of a direct vote their innermost feelings about the Committee." Until the time comes, said the California Congressman, when House members can speak out without risking political suicide, he would not "move formally again for the abolition of the Committee, lest the resulting vote mislead the public into thinking that this Committee really has the backing of this House."

Somehow, we can't help wondering if opposition to the Committee is as dangerous as Congressmen fear. Perhaps this is another example of the leaders being the laggards. There is considerable evidence that a great many Americans would respond affirmatively if their Congressmen would join Roosevelt in his courageous fight.

The American Civil Liberties Union, which has been marshaling growing support for abolition of the HUAC, recently noted that it was encouraged in its efforts by the words of an American of considerable stature who said:

". . . legislative investigation . . . has too frequently been used by the nation and the states as a means for effecting the disgrace and degradation of private persons. Unscrupulous demagogues have used the power to investigate as tyrants of an earlier day used the bill of slander . . . Pretending to fear government, they have asked government to outlaw private protest . . . They glorify 'togetherness' when it is theirs, and call it conspiracy when it is that of others . . . *Yet there are few among us who do not share a portion of the blame for not recognizing soon enough the dark tendency towards excess of caution.*" (Emphasis added.)

The author of these words is John F. Kennedy. They are part of a statement he gave the ACLU only last October.

Kudos for Bell & Howell

Advertisers, especially television sponsors, are a notoriously timid breed. Their fear of losing a single sale leads most of them to shun the sponsorship of controversial themes. Not so the Bell & Howell Company of Chicago, one of the country's leading manufacturers of photographic equipment, whose president, Charles H. Percy, served as chairman of the platform committee at the Republican National Convention.

Bell & Howell has sponsored several distinguished documentaries on television, including "Who Speaks for the South?," an hour-long objective study of anti-Negro prejudice and discrimination and the problems they pose to the Southern city of Atlanta; and "Cast the First Stone," a searching investigation of religious and racial prejudice and discrimination in Chicago and other Northern cities.

It took an uncommon kind of courage for Bell & Howell to present these studies in the face of warnings and threats of reprisals, particularly in the South. The Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan of Arkansas, for example, protested Bell & Howell's sponsorship of "Cast the First Stone," and warned that "word is going out to all Klansmen throughout the land to mark you well. They shall refuse your products and services wherever and whenever possible."

Our story has a happy ending. Business boomed for Bell & Howell. Its programs not only received an overwhelmingly favorable written response, but its sales soared, so much so that its 1960 financial report was the best in its history. This, Bell & Howell rightly feels, validates its thesis that "the folklore of advertising has greatly overstated the negative aspects and risks of controversy and understated its positive aspects."

Recently, the American Jewish Congress, Council of Greater Chicago, presented a citation for public service to Bell & Howell for its major contribution in the fight against bigotry. We of *The Progressive* want to add our congratulations. We are not much given to commercials in *The Progressive*, but if we were in the market for photographic equipment, we would buy Bell & Howell products.

THE EVICTED

by FRED TRAVIS

"NO PERSON, WHETHER ACTING UNDER COLOR OF LAW OR OTHERWISE, SHALL INTIMIDATE, COERCE, OR ATTEMPT TO INTIMIDATE, THREATEN, OR COERCE ANY OTHER PERSON FOR THE PURPOSE OF INTERFERING WITH THE RIGHT OF SUCH OTHER PERSON TO VOTE OR TO VOTE AS HE MAY CHOOSE FOR, OR NOT TO VOTE FOR, ANY CANDIDATE FOR THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT, PRESIDENTIAL ELECTOR, MEMBER OF THE SENATE, OR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DELEGATES OR COMMISSIONERS FROM THE TERRITORIES OR POSSESSIONS, AT ANY GENERAL, SPECIAL OR PRIMARY ELECTION HELD SOLELY OR IN PART FOR THE PURPOSE OF SELECTING OR ELECTING ANY SUCH CANDIDATE."

—Section 131, Civil Rights Act of 1957, Federal Statutes.

MRS. GEORGIA MAE TURNER grubbed at a shallow trench with a cotton hoe, trying to drain a puddle of water in front of her tent in a camp called "Freedom Village" three miles south of Somerville, Tennessee. The fifty-eight-year-old widow and three of her five children were among a growing number of Negroes being forced off the land because they registered and voted in Fayette County, where Negroes outnumber whites by more than two to one.

"I been on that farm for thirty-eight year," Mrs. Turner said, pausing to wipe from her face the cold rain that beat down incessantly. "I worked for Mr. McNamee, and when he died I stay on an' work for his widow. I always done what that woman say. I never disobey my boss lady, and I ain' holdin' nothin' ag'in her now. I'll let the Lord settle with her.

"I worked shares," Mrs. Turner continued. "Sometimes Mrs. McNamee say I owe her as much as fo' or five thousan' dollar, an' I work it all off. I don't owe her nothin' when I lef'. In good years, I sometimes use t' make fifty or hun'red dollar. I don' know. She al'ays kep' the 'counts.

"Last summer I wen' down to Somerville an' register to vote and she say she seen my pi'ture in th' paper. She say, 'I got yo pi'ture,' and I don' know what she mean at fust. Then she tell me las' fall I got to get offn her farm. She say she don' want me there no mo'. I say I get off at th' end o' th' year. Now this tent my home but it about as good as that house I had."

"I register to vote in September," said William Trotter, who moved into the tent camp with his wife and six children. "In October, my landlord came down to th' cotton fiel' 'n' say, 'Willie, you'll have t' get out. I'm gonna fix up th' house.'"

These are some of the results of the Federal government's first attempt to enforce the right of Negroes to vote in Deep South counties where they outnumber the white man but are heavily dependent upon him for economic survival. On the outcome of this effort will hinge the chances for Negroes in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina to participate freely in future elections, and perhaps determine the course of new civil rights legislation in Congress.

For the Fayette and Haywood County cases in Tennessee have produced a conflict between the Negro's civil rights and the white man's property rights which ultimately must be resolved by the United States Supreme Court. Before that happens, however, there may be an explosion of racial violence more intense than any the South has experienced in the desegregation of public schools. Emotions are running high on both sides, with threats and accusations and even occasional gunfire being exchanged. If the government's case fails, more than 700 Negro families may be ordered out of the farm tenant and sharecropper shacks which have been their only homes most of their lives. Ignorant and unskilled, they are incapable of earning a living except by raising cotton, corn, and soybeans, and maybe a few chickens and hogs.

Negroes work the land under many arrangements. A few tenants lease the land and work it with their own equipment. But most are sharecroppers and are furnished a house, food, equipment, seed, fertilizer, medicine, and other supplies on credit. When the harvest is in, the sharecropper's part is usually about a half to a third of the crop, out of which he must pay for items advanced him. The net profit on the five to twenty acre plots may range from $50 to $300 a year, though it is just as liable

FRED TRAVIS has been a newspaper reporter and editor for twenty-five years, for the past decade and a half as state capitol correspondent at Nashville, Tennessee, for The Chattanooga Times, an assignment which has included coverage of race relations problems throughout Tennessee. He recently traveled through Fayette and Haywood Counties on special assignment for The Progressive.

to turn out to be a loss of that much or more.

Fayette and Haywood Counties, thirty miles east of Memphis, in the West Tennessee cotton country, are part of the Old South. Their broad fields stretch on each side of the Nashville-to-Memphis highways, and sharecropper and tenant shacks stand out against the flatlands. Aside from the few sawmills, cotton gins, and soybean oil mills, there is practically no industry.

Fayette County, on the Mississippi state border, has 24,577 residents, but the number has been dropping steadily since 1940 as both whites and Negroes seek opportunities elsewhere. Seventy per cent of the population is Negro, and they own about ten per cent of the land. The white people were so exercised over the Democratic Party's civil rights position that they voted for the States' Rights ticket in 1948 and 1956 and, in 1960, voted Republican for the first time.

Before last August, a few Negroes had been permitted to vote in Federal and state elections, but they always were excluded from the county Democratic primary in which local officials are named. The county primary, financed by qualifying fees imposed upon the candidates and without sanction in state law, is regarded as a private affair for the white people, though the nominations are equivalent to election to local offices.

Haywood County to the north has a population of 23,393, of which sixty per cent is Negro. Until last August, no Negro had ever voted in that county unless he did so during the Reconstruction.

The policy in these two counties was in sharp contrast to most of Tennessee, which is a border state and has adopted generally what is by Southern standards a moderate policy in handling racial problems. Negroes long have been permitted to vote in other counties and are even encouraged to do so by politicians in the metropolitan areas. Voting qualifications have been so lax that Negroes in some cities were not even required to be alive to have their names on the registration books.

Trouble started in Haywood and Fayette Counties in 1959 when the Negroes, with some outside help, organized Civic and Welfare Leagues. Groups of them went to the old courthouse in the middle of the Brownsville public square to register but found the Haywood County election commission had just resigned.

In Fayette County, when Negroes began showing up in groups at the election commission office, they were told they could not register. The Federal government's Commission on Civil Rights sent in agents to investigate, and the Federal district court at Memphis issued an injunction prohibiting local officials from blocking the registrations.

"As long as just a few of us were registered and voted, the white folks didn't pay no attention to us," said Scott Franklin, who runs a little store in the Moscow community down near the Mississippi line. He is president of the Fayette County Civic and Welfare League.

"After we got out this injunction, I heard some white people say, 'We can beat them.' Then we didn't know what it was. Now we know they was going to run us out of the county."

Franklin and other Negro merchants, like John McFerren, who runs a pint-sized "supermarket" just outside Somerville, the seat of Fayette County, were among the first to feel the economic pressure. Their credit and deliveries from local wholesalers were cut off. An oil distributor removed the gasoline pumps from in front of Franklin's store. Salesmen for distributors in Memphis and Jackson, Tennessee, said they would have to stop supplying the Negro merchants or lose their white customers. What little the Negroes could get to sell they had to haul from Memphis.

When Negroes went into white stores to make purchases, the clerks checked their names against lists of registered voters or Welfare League members before making the sale. Credit and even gasoline for farm tractors were refused those who had registered.

As word of the Negroes' plight spread, assistance arrived in the form of food packages from Memphis, Nashville, New York, Chicago, and other cities. Roy Wilkins, chairman of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, reported the situation to the Democratic Platform Committee at Los Angeles a few days before the party's nominating convention opened last July.

"Today as we talk here," he said, "Negro farmers in Fayette County who persisted and finally registered to vote are being refused gasoline for their tractors, trucks, and other farm machinery. Distributors of four nationally-known oil companies have joined in this punishment of men who sought merely to exercise their American right to vote." Negro leaders in the registration drive, he continued, had been "blacklisted by local merchants and cannot buy food and clothing."

"I trust the Justice Department will do something about this," he added. "Meanwhile, people cannot eat and cannot make their crops."

Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation joined those of the Civil Rights Commission in an investigation. They reported merchants checking lists of Negroes who had registered or were members of the Welfare Leagues and refusing sales to them.

James A. Kurts, a clerk in the Economy Store in Brownsville, was quoted by an FBI agent as having said he was told by the store owners "not to extend credit to names that appear on a list" of members of the Haywood County Civic and Welfare League.

Notice of tenant lease and sharecropper contract termination began shortly after Tennessee's August Democratic primary to nominate Federal and state officials. Negroes voted in the primary in both counties, and some of them claim lists of names were compiled at the polls for use in the campaign for economic retaliation. Others registered later in preparation for the November general election and found their names were added to the lists.

Last December, the Justice Department went into the Federal court at Memphis and asked a temporary injunction restraining landowners from evicting Negroes who had registered. John Doar, the government attorney, called the planned evictions "the most cruel step people could take against citizens of this country in telling them to get off the land. The

United States government says this is wrong."

Nine of the white defendants called by the government as witnesses clammed up, claiming Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination. An exception was one white woman, Mrs. Esther Green, who testified she had refused to sign a petition pledging economic action against Negroes who registered; she explained, "I think for myself." She recalled a 1959 visit by Shelby Dixon, a cotton ginner in the Stanton community, to her farm "way up in the hills in Haywood County." Dixon, she said, asked her to sign a promise not to help any member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Haywood County Civic and Welfare League, "or anyone else that the central committee does not approve of."

"That was too broad," Mrs. Green said. "I told him it didn't sound right to me, and I didn't want to sign."

Isaac Smith Carter, a white tenant on another farm, testified his landlord had refused to have anything to do with him after he refused to join in the campaign to hamper Negro registration.

The defense denied that Negroes were being evicted in reprisal for voting and insisted that the dismissals resulted from the inefficiency of tenants and mechanization of farming. One landowner, Montezuma Carter, Jr., said he was shifting to machines and had "no earthly need" for the ten Negro tenant families on his property.

Federal Judge Marion S. Boyd of Memphis refused to grant the government's request to halt the evictions. "The Civil Rights Act is intended to protect the right to register and vote and provide injunctive relief against such interference and coercion," he said. "That's all it does, I believe . . . I don't believe this court has any right to enjoin the evictions or enjoin the altering of leases."

A few days later, he was overruled by the Sixth United States Circuit Court of Appeals, which held that the Negroes could not be evicted as an interference with their right to vote. The Appeals Court left it to Judge Boyd to decide how its finding should be enforced. Boyd then told landlords they could not evict Negro tenants without proving in his court that the eviction was not an attempt to interfere with the Negroes' voting rights. Boyd's decision places the burden of proof on the landlord, but it also leaves a door open for evictions in connection with a normal rearrangement of agricultural practices. The action of the courts to date has been a temporary holding action aimed at maintaining the status quo while the issue is being litigated. Further hearings were ordered before a final decision, and there is no doubt the case ultimately will reach the United States Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, bitterness hangs heavily over the land. The tent camp set up on the 200-acre farm of Shepherd Towles, one of the few Negroes with substantial landholdings in the area, was denounced by whites as a publicity stunt to attract sympathy and relief for the Negroes.

"It's just a propaganda stunt," declared Mayor I. P. Yancy of Somerville. "I don't know of any need around here."

White landowners and businessmen, on the advice of their lawyers, who include practically the entire bar associations of both counties, decline to discuss the situation with strangers.

"Don't quote me and don't mention my name," said one farmer. "I'm a defendant in that Federal court case. We defendants refer to ourselves as the 'Honor Roll' and laugh about it, but it's a mighty dry laugh, I'll tell you. Those niggers go down there to those government lawyers and swear out those false affidavits. Of course, they are all lies, but you've got to hire yourself a lawyer and defend yourself just the same. It's mostly the work of some of those Northern agitators. They came down here and got the niggers all stirred up and told them they ought to go register and vote," he continued.

"We've known this was coming for a long time, and we've been trying to reduce our nigger population. Of course, we are mechanizing our farms. We've got to stay in business. Why, we've got sixty or seventy mechanical cotton pickers in this county already, and each one of them can do the work of seventy-five niggers. We got plenty of corn-picking machines, and a lot of farmers are turning to raising livestock. You don't need many farm hands for livestock."

He cited the national trend toward mechanized farming and the consolidation of farms into bigger units. In the 1,223 square miles of Fayette and Haywood Counties, the number of farm units dropped by 1,815 between 1954 and 1959 and the number of farm tenants declined by 1,586.

"We just don't have any need for so many niggers any more," said another landowner, who was equally emphatic in his demands for anonymity. "I'm not a defendant in one of those Federal court cases yet, and I don't want to be. I'm trying to get the niggers off my land before they enjoin me. I'm going to machines."

The whites called attention to the fact that Negroes have declined tenant and sharecropper offers from Arkansas and other Tennessee counties where their race is in a minority and farm hands are badly needed. The Somerville weekly newspaper, *The Fayette County Falcon*, carried a number of advertisements offering places in Phillips County, Arkansas, and Lauderdale County, Tennessee.

But the Negroes were deeply suspicious of the offers, seeing them as a further part of the campaign to get them out of the county so the white man can remain firmly in control of the ballot box.

"Man come out here and say he want ten tenant families fo' his farm somewheres over 'bount Nashful," said Mrs. Turner. "He say he got eighty acres of land. What he go'n do wit' ten tenant fam'lies on a farm no bigger'n that?"

John McFerren, who was busy directing the operation of "Freedom

Village," said: "The sheriff told us we could go to other counties without being shot at and intimidated. A landowner over in Lauderdale County say he want two families to work for wages but he won't say how much wages."

McFerren, whose "supermarket" is plastered inside with signs like "PLEASE DON'T DISCUSS POLITICS IN HERE UNLESS YOU ARE REGISTERED TO VOTE," reported he had checked out two of the job offers and rejected them. "They couldn't answer details on assurances of making a living on the farms," he said. He disputed the claim that the machine could replace the Negro and predicted that a lot of landowners would go broke trying to use machines on the small, sometimes hilly farms.

Whites claim McFerren has found a profitable operation in handling the relief packages for the displaced tenants, but the Negro leader denies this.

When a shot was fired into the tent city, wounding slightly a Negro man sleeping there with his wife and four children, McFerren said: "I expected they'd try to get me, but I didn't think they would shoot into the tents while people were asleep in them." He warned of possible further violence: "The white people started the shooting. I'm a nonviolence man myself, but I can't always control my people. Some of these people are getting pretty desperate.

"We need government help to get relief from this pressure," he continued, "and we need relief from this boycott the white folks have put on us. We need medical help, too. We don't have a Negro doctor in this county, and the Negroes can't get any help from the white clinics. We have to go to Memphis to get a doctor, and that's nearly forty miles away."

McFerren declined to identify the organizations which are providing assistance in the form of food, clothing, and money; he said he was afraid he might omit one from the list and offend someone. One organization which has contributed substantially is the Southern Conference Education Fund, a favorite target of Mississippi's Senator James Eastland, who likes to call it a Leftist organization or worse.

"This is just a sample of what is going to happen in Mississippi when the Negroes try to vote down there," said the Reverend Kelly Miller Smith of Nashville, a leader in the Rever- and Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "If we don't win the fight for the vote in Fayette County, we won't have a chance in other areas of the South."

If the government wins its fight, the Negroes may get the right to free use of the ballot in Fayette and Haywood Counties, but there may not be many of them around to enjoy it. Meanwhile, conditions in the West Tennessee cotton country are likely to get a lot worse before there is any improvement.

LINCOLN and KENNEDY

by

RICHARD N. CURRENT

WE MUST "get right" with Abraham Lincoln. So once declared the junior Senator from Lincoln's home state, Everett M. Dirksen. Getting right with Lincoln has become an imperative of American politics.

The need is especially urgent now, in the light of certain astronomical facts. Orbiting in its accustomed path, the earth, after revolving a hundred times around the sun, has reached again approximately the same position it occupied when Lincoln was preparing to take over the United States government. And, with us, one hundred is a magic number, as witness the significance we attach to centennials.

The juxtaposition of the heavenly bodies being what it is, the advent of John F. Kennedy to the Presidency cries out to commentators for comparison with the advent of Abraham Lincoln. The wise men of press and radio and TV have responded. From their lucubrations it appears that there has been a lamentable falling off in statesmanship since Lincoln's time.

The Lincoln-Douglas debates, as every schoolboy presumably knows, laid bare the issues of the moment (1858) with vigor, honesty, and insight. The Kennedy-Nixon debates —why, these were not debates at all! Everybody knew where Abe stood. Nobody knows where Jack really stands.

When it came to picking a Cabinet, President-elect Lincoln was not afraid to surround himself with advisers who were strong in their own right. Four of his appointees had been his rivals for the Presidential nomination. One of the four—William H. Seward, the Secretary of State—was better known and, in the East, more admired than Lincoln. Independent though his secretaries were, Lincoln quickly made himself their master. The story is told of a Cabinet meeting at which all except the President voted against a proposal of his. "Seven noes and one aye," he quipped. "The ayes have it."

Very Lincolnian, but hardly Ken-

RICHARD N. CURRENT, professor of American History at the University of Wisconsin, is one of the nation's foremost authorities on Abraham Lincoln and his times. He is the author of "The Lincoln Nobody Knows," "Mr. Lincoln," and, with J. G. Randall, "Lincoln the President." His "Last Full Measure" won the Bancroft Prize in 1956.

nedian. It would be no trick for Kennedy to dominate *his* Cabinet. He has filled it, the experts say, with men who may be able enough but who are no such robust politicians as Lincoln chose. The Kennedy men are gray and colorless, and largely bureaucrats.

Such is the kind of comment that has been heard or read during the past several months. Not all comparisons are odious, perhaps, but comparing Kennedy with Lincoln has been a little like comparing, say, Britain's Prime Minister Harold Macmillan with King Arthur. For the Lincoln of whom we hear is more a legendary than a historical figure.

The actual Lincoln did not, for instance, speak out quite so clearly and nobly, during his rise to the Presidency, as has been supposed.

The recent play, *The Rivals,* in which Raymond Massey played the role of Lincoln and Martin Gabel that of Stephen A. Douglas, portrayed a Lincoln eloquent for freedom and equality in contrast to a Douglas trimming his remarks to fit his own ambitions. The play had been put together, skillfully and interestingly, from the actual words of the rivals. The speeches had been edited in such a way, however, as to make Lincoln appear more straightforward and consistent than he really was.

In the real debates, Lincoln and Douglas seldom traded direct blows. They shadow-boxed much of the time, though they were in the same ring. Each misrepresented the other's position. Douglas called Lincoln a "Black Republican"—an abolitionist—which Lincoln was far from being. Lincoln accused Douglas of conspiring with President James Buchanan and others to fix slavery upon the entire nation. Lincoln knew this was not so. Buchanan and Douglas then were at outs. The Buchanan Democrats in Illinois were doing their worst to defeat their fellow Democrat, Douglas. So, in effect, Buchanan was on Lincoln's side.

During that Lincoln-Douglas campaign for the Senate, Lincoln made a rousing speech on the all-men-are-created-equal theme. This was in Chicago, peopled largely by anti-slavery and freesoil settlers from New England and the Northeast. Lincoln spoke out of the other side of his mouth at Charleston, in southern Illinois, where people from Kentucky and the Southeast had settled. In Charleston he said he was no more in favor of giving equality in social or political rights to Negroes than was any other white man. Douglas afterward tried to call attention to the contradiction between Lincoln's Chicago and Charleston statements.

If Lincoln and Douglas had been on television, they would have found it difficult to shift their arguments as they sometimes did. Not impossible, only difficult. Despite the constraints of television, Kennedy and Nixon were able to engage in some double-talk and back-tracking, on subjects like Cuba and Quemoy. Yet, for the most part, Kennedy and Nixon were every bit as clear and consistent as Lincoln and Douglas.

It should be remembered, too, that Lincoln did his debating when he was running for the Senatorship, not the Presidency. In 1860, as a Presidential candidate, he made no public statements at all. Deliberately he followed a strategy of avoidance, counseling Republican campaigners to keep silent on all issues that might divide the party. These divisive issues included that of civil rights.

Privately, Lincoln had written: "As a nation, we began by declaring that *'all men are created equal.'* We now practically read it 'all men are created equal, *except Negroes.*' When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read 'all men are created equal, except Negroes, *and foreigners, and Catholics.*' When it comes to this I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy." Which was nobly said.

But Lincoln and the Republicans needed the votes of those same anti-foreigner and anti-Catholic Know-Nothings (or "Native Americans"). "About us here," he confessed in a letter from Springfield, "they are mostly my old political and personal friends, and I have hoped their organization would die out without the painful necessity of my taking an open stand against them."

During the campaign of 1860 he declined to take an open stand even when he was accused of being seen coming out of a Know-Nothing lodge. Confidentially he averred that he had never been in such a place. "And now, a word of caution," he added. "Our adversaries think they can gain a point, if they could force me to openly deny the charge, by which some degree of offense would be given to the Americans"—that is, to the Know-Nothings.

Lincoln continued to hold his tongue on controversial issues during the winter after his election, while the nation was going to pieces. No one knew where he stood on questions like Fort Sumter until he had read his inaugural address, and even then no one could be quite sure.

Kennedy, with his "New Frontier," is vague enough. He has said little to confirm, or elaborate upon, the bold civil rights plank of his party's platform. Though he had a good word for the Reverend Martin Luther King in one of the latter's hours of trouble, he came out with no ringing statement at the height of the New Orleans school crisis. Indeed, he came out with no statement at all. Still, he has done as well as, or better than, Lincoln in letting the people know what to expect of him once he was in office.

As for Kennedy's Cabinet, its composition does differ somewhat from Lincoln's.

Throughout the Nineteenth Century, and well into the Twentieth, a President seldom chose technical experts for his top advisers. He selected men to whom he owed political debts or to whom he looked for the political strengthening of his administration. Customarily he named a leading party rival to the State Department, as Lincoln did with Seward, or Woodrow Wilson with William Jennings Bryan, or Franklin D. Roosevelt with Cordell Hull. Experience in foreign affairs had little or nothing to do with the matter.

According to the traditional principle of selection, Nelson Rockefeller would have been the logical man for

Secretary of State if Nixon had won the election. In the case of Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson would have been the almost inevitable choice if he had not accepted the Vice-Presidential nomination.

Quite recently, since World War II, a new principle has begun to control Cabinet appointments. Some degree of technical experience and expertise is now a desideratum. Dean Acheson brought this quality (and not political strength) to the Truman Administration. John Foster Dulles had groomed himself consciously for the State Department job; he was not the sort who could win election to high office. And Dean Rusk fits the Acheson-Dulles category rather than the Seward-Byran-Hull tradition. Instead of a politician, Rusk is a career bureaucrat, if not a career diplomat.

For the most part, Kennedy has found places outside the Cabinet for the men who, according to the older practice, would have been given positions inside it—men like Adlai Stevenson, Chester Bowles, and Averell Harriman. What seems like Kennedy's most startling new departure in Cabinet appointments, the naming of his brother to the Attorney General's office, is perhaps not quite so new and different as it appears. Robert Kennedy happens to be closely related to John F. Kennedy, but he is also the man who managed the President's campaign for nomination and election. Another President, Warren G. Harding, did much the same thing when he put at the head of the Justice Department the man who had masterminded *his* campaign, Harry M. Daugherty. As for the change of nepotism (to get back to the comparison between Kennedy and Lincoln), it might be recalled that if Lincoln put no brother Bob in his Cabinet, he did get for his son Bob a rather cushy job as captain on General U. S. Grant's staff.

Opinions may differ on the question of whether the new trend in Cabinet-making is healthful for the republic. At first glance it would seem a good thing to appoint men with special training for their tasks. Yet, in the old days, some of the amateurs turned out to be remarkably able. Seward is a case in point. And, in the new day of the organization man, perhaps something of spontaneity and originality may be lost if we have in policy-making positions too many organization men —too many bureaucratic insiders.

We need not take seriously the charge that Kennedy has chosen weak men so that he can dominate them. To some Republicans he seems the dominating and domineering type. They say he is "arrogant." He *looks* it. And this brings to mind the contrast of Lincoln's "humility."

However, Lincoln was not so humble as he often has been described. He had plenty of self-confidence. He usually acted as if he were more capable than the men around him. And why not? He *was* more capable. Most of his Cabinet appointees, despite present-day impressions to the contrary, were run-of-the-mill politicians. Attorney-General Edward Bates and Interior Secretary Caleb B. Smith, to name two of them, were gray and colorless enough.

When he did not dominate his Cabinet, Lincoln disregarded it. The diary-keeping Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, jotted down frequent complaints that the President seldom consulted his Secretaries as a group. He did not look upon them as a regular council. There is no reason he should have done so. Specifications for the Cabinet are not provided in the Constitution or in law, and essentially the Cabinet is what the President makes it. The Secretaries are his creatures, answerable to him. This fact—rather than Lincoln's mastery of supposedly strong men—is the real point of the story in which "the ayes have it."

Now, nothing said here is intended to denigrate Lincoln. He was a great President, probably the greatest of all. And nothing here is intended to exalt Kennedy. He may, or may not, prove to be outstanding in the Presidential office. But it is unfair to contrast him with a more or less imaginary Lincoln. It is misleading to compare a President-who-is with a President-who-never-was.

The mythical Lincoln is invaluable as a symbol. It is good to have an ideal to aspire toward, even though it never can be attained. Slaves fleeing from ol' massa used to follow the North Star. None of them, so far as is known, ever reached it. But thousands found their way to freedom in the Northern states or in Canada.

The historical Lincoln also has his uses. Viewed objectively, he provides a standard by which to measure present-day politicians. Since his times were so different from ours, however, we cannot well make detailed and specific comparisons. We must first abstract Lincoln's qualities as a statesman and then judge Kennedy according to them.

One—Lincoln was an effective politician, skilled in the arts of getting and holding the support of other politicians and the people. He could get along with individuals and groups who could not get along with one another.

Two—Lincoln had convictions but not doctrinaire notions. He was mentally flexible. He was willing to compromise on things of less importance in order to gain those of more importance.

Three—Lincoln managed to keep ahead of the people, but not too far ahead. He had a sense of timing and a knowledge of the art of the possible. He did not jeopardize his objectives by pressing them prematurely.

Four—Lincoln was articulate and eloquent. He could state his convictions and aims in prose worthy of them. He could clarify issues. He could arouse enthusiasm and a sense of dedication in support of his policies.

Five—Lincoln presided at a time when the country took a major turn in its history, and he had a moving part in this.

As judged by the first of these items, Kennedy has done pretty well so far. There should be little doubt of his political skill. Regarding the second, third, and fourth points, Kennedy has shown promise, but only time will tell the extent of his achievement. As for the crisis, it is of course upon us, but let us pray that nothing comparable to the Civil War ensues, to make Kennedy the center of celebrations when the earth has revolved around the sun another hundred times.

Youth for Peace

by HENRY S. REUSS

A DOZEN RECENT conferences on our foreign aid program have agreed that we must discover ways of sharpening its impact abroad and obtaining better understanding at home. At the point of destination, so the criticism runs, our aid program relies too much upon military hardware, or upon grandiose steel-and-concrete projects that have little meaning to native peoples. Too often it is administered by the aloof, enclave-living, red-tape-bound types caricatured in *The Ugly American*. Too often our aid is short-stopped by corrupt or reactionary rulers before it "trickles down" to the people.

At the point of origin, much of the idealism which animated the Marshall Plan and the original Point Four concept has worn thin. As every Congressman knows, voters who once thrilled to the vision of West Europeans striving to restore their economies, of primitive peoples making the desert bloom, now ask embarrassing questions about Laos and Korea and Iraq.

This spring, the Kennedy Administration and the Eighty-seventh Congress will be overhauling the foreign aid program. In this overhaul, there will figure prominently the idea of using a corps of young Americans overseas to try to rekindle the flickering flame of idealism.

During the campaign last fall, candidate Kennedy asked "that some appropriate way be found to take advantage of the skills, the talents, the devotion, and the idealism which are inherent in America's young people; and to utilize the services of those properly trained, on the new frontiers of humanity—to aid in building dams, teaching schools, operating hospitals, establishing irrigation projects, and generally to help other people to help themselves."

Within a few weeks Congress will receive the authorative Colorado State University study of the proposal for a Point Four Youth Corps. For some months Colorado State has been making an on-the-spot study of the feasibility of the project in eight underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The study was authorized in an amendment to last year's Mutual Security Act, sponsored by the late Senator Richard L. Neuberger of Oregon and myself.

The idea of a Point Four Youth Corps first came to me on a Congressional mission to Southeast Asia in the fall of 1957. There I saw something that in a flash could cancel out, in its potential, many of the mistakes we had made. In the jungles of Cambodia, I saw a team of four young American schoolteachers who were going from village to village setting up the elementary schools that the French had neglected to provide in a hundred years of colonialism. The villagers and the young Americans loved each other, and I could only regret that there were four, rather than forty or four hundred, Americans working on the project.

A few months later, in a talk at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, I suggested the idea of a "Point Four Selective Service for young Americans, neither busybodies nor misfits, with some degree of expertness, and a willingness to serve their country for a few years in far-off places, at a soldier's pay, in the greatest adventure of the age."

The response there—and wherever else I have discussed it—was electric. So I made it my business to discuss and refine the proposal, through meetings and conversations with government officials, religious and welfare leaders, and university teachers and administrators. By the end of 1959, the legislation calling for an official Congressional study was ready. The authorization for the study became law in June, 1960, and the appropriation was made in September, 1960. Meanwhile, in June, Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota introduced a bill providing for the immediate establishment of a United States Peace Corps, setting forth the legal status of such a Corps in detail.

From these essentially similar proposals will, I hope, emerge legislation sufficient to bring the Corps into being before the end of 1961. The exact bill on which Congress will be asked to act will undoubtedly be hammered out within the next few weeks. And Congress can be relied on to make some modifications. But, based on the quick acceptance by Congress last year of the study, I am highly optimistic that the Corps will be established by law.

A whole series of knotty questions needs to be resolved before the Corps can become a reality. At the end of 1960, I sponsored a meeting in Washington of representatives of more than sixty interested organizations—business, labor, religious, welfare, university. Here are the main questions we asked ourselves:

One—What is the Corps' purpose? Four main purposes appear:

¶ To add a human element to our programs of economic and social development.

¶ To furnish a constructive outlet for the great reservoir of youthful idealism in this country.

¶ To make available a much larger pool of United States overseas technicians.

¶ To educate some of our young people both for eventual service overseas as a life work, and to lend their future home communities in America a sense of world understanding.

HENRY S. REUSS, Democratic Representative from Wisconsin, has traveled widely through the underdeveloped areas of the world. His was the first proposal for a Youth Peace Corps.

Two—What types of jobs should the Corps do?

Almost everything useful under the sun, the answer seems to be, but teaching comes first. Representative Barratt O'Hara of Illinois, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee's African Subcommittee, reports that dozens of newly independent African states are desperately anxious for American technicians of all kinds, particularly teachers. Even before the beginnings of a formal program, many young Americans are teaching abroad on their own. Sam Bowles, son of Undersecretary of State Chester Bowles, just out of Yale, and his wife, are now having the time of their lives teaching in Nigeria, for example.

At a very simple level, there is a tremendous demand for teachers of English. One of the happiest memories of my Army career was teaching "readin' and ritin'" to a group of Navajos and Cajuns at Camp Joseph T. Robinson, Arkansas, for several months in 1943. All I had for a text or a teacher's guide was an Army "poop-sheet", but the iridescent smiles of the Navajos and the joy of the Cajuns at establishing contact with home through the parish priest showed how easy it is to be a success at this.

Young Americans with some engineering training can help plan and build schools, clinics, irrigation projects, roads, and community centers. Home economists can demonstrate soap making, food handling, child care. Farmers can demonstrate crop and livestock improvement, irrigation, conservation. There is great need for people trained in medicine, nursing, and public administration.

Three—How big should the Corps be?

Here, there is a great variety of opinion. Some labor representatives talk about a vast foreign legion like a Civilian Conservation Corps, an army of 100,000 or so doing manual labor. But this approach overlooks the fact that unskilled labor is something of which most underdeveloped countries have a considerable surplus.

At the other extreme is the view presented to President Kennedy by Professor Max Millikan of Massachusetts Institute of Technology: "The program should be launched on a limited pilot basis with no more than a few hundred members," and the government content itself with coordinating the programs of non-governmental agencies. The trouble with such a program is that it is really no program at all. To have esprit de corps, you must first have a corps. A few hundred participants are now being furnished by such organizations as International Voluntary Services, which carries on excellent programs in agriculture and community development in such places as Viet Nam, Jordan, and Ghana; Operation Cross-Roads Africa, conducted by that remarkable Harlem minister, James H. Robinson, which brings 150 students a year to Africa; and the American Friends Service Committee, an old hand at person-to-person diplomacy. Agencies such as these are the first to say that their resources are wholly inadequate for the size of the task presented.

A program on the order of 1,000 to 2,000, consisting of both voluntary organizations and a government-sponsored component, sounds to most observers like the most sensible way to begin. An ultimate expansion to perhaps 10,000 could be envisaged.

Four—What should be the qualifications for membership in the Corps?

All are agreed that members should be "carefully selected." In practice, most members should have a college bachelor's degree or better. But there is no reason why a young farmer without a degree, for example, could not give invaluable service overseas. It would therefore seem wisest not to require a college degree.

Much more difficult will be the more subjective type of screening. The Corps certainly does not want members who are suspicious of foreigners. Equally, it seems to me, it does not want those who are so caught up with the rest of the world that they are out of touch with their own society.

Five—Should the Corps be public or private?

Here again, there are those who advocate that the Corps should depend entirely upon voluntary organizations, and those who advocate that it should be entirely governmental. The problem is too big for the voluntary organizations alone. Still, encouraging a pluralistic approach requires that the voluntary organizations be considered as part of the total American program. Perhaps the best solution would be to lodge the Corps, at least initially, in the agency which has been handling our technical assistance programs, the International Cooperation Administration. Top coordination could perhaps be handed to an undersecretary of state. The major nucleus of the Corps would be sponsored and financed directly by the government. Voluntary agencies would be able to expand their programs as they were given aid by the government, such as for overseas travel.

The Youth Corps idea should not be limited to United States participation. Recently, Karl Blessing, president of the West German Central Bank, urged a device for enabling German young people to work abroad in the underdeveloped areas, both for the good of their souls and as a recognition of Germany's favorable balance of payments position. Similar moves are afoot in the United Kingdom, Switzerland, and elsewhere. While the United States should not wait on others for launching its own program, joint activities with other contributing countries, and perhaps some day with the United Nations, are well worth exploring.

Six—Should Point Four Youth Corps members be draft exempt?

It is argued by some that service in the Youth Corps would be considerably more arduous in most cases than peacetime service in the armed forces—it probably would be—and therefore, the Youth Corps service should provide exemption from the draft. Total draft exemption, however, would run into domestic political opposition. In the last campaign, for example, Vice President Richard Nixon called the concept "a haven for draft dodgers." A more sensitive objection to the complete draft exemption idea was advanced by the Reverend James H. Robinson, of Operation Cross-Roads Africa, who pointed out that Youth Corps members might be suspect abroad if it were known that draft exemption was a possible motive for their signing up.

A sensible way of handling the problem has been worked out in practice by International Voluntary Services. While the young person is serving overseas, he is deferred from the draft just as is a university student. On his return from his three or four years' stint abroad, he more than likely will

be twenty-five years old, or married, or otherwise beyond the reach of the draft. In practice, IVS reports that so far not one member has been drafted upon his return. Selective Service Director Lewis B. Hershey has indicated he would go along with this kind of approach to the Youth Corps.

Seven—How should Youth Corps members be trained?

Everyone seems agreed that a well-developed orientation course of at least six months is necessary, divided between this country and the general area where the member will work. The three areas of concentration would be a refresher course in American culture and government; studies of the culture of the underdeveloped area; and language training.

Eight—How much would the program cost?

It is envisaged that members sign up for at least three years. Pay and allowances should be comparable to those of a soldier, something like expenses, plus $80 a month, which is the amount the rifle-toting counterpart of Youth Corps members would get in the Army. The annual cost for each member of the Corps, including transportation and living facilities, is estimated at around $5,000. On that basis, it would cost $10 million a year to send 2,000 young Americans abroad—less than one one-hundred-fiftieth of the sum we are now spending on our current foreign economic aid program. If we can afford to send many thousands of U.S. Army officers to Turkey and Iran and Viet Nam and Pakistan to train soldiers, surely we can afford to send a small number of young Americans to train farmers and teachers.

President Kennedy received more letters on the Youth Corps, according to Press Secretary Pierre Salinger, than on any subject he raised during the campaign. Letters from young Americans volunteering for the Corps, with an apparent full awareness of the sacrifice it entails, already fill several drawers of my filing cabinet. The letters prove that young Americans want to participate in the war against poverty and ignorance and disease. They want to involve themselves in the affirmative evolution of the have-nots. Surely the Administration and the Congress can fashion a bridge to assist their idealism to become reality.

Our Captive Agencies

by EDWARD P. MORGAN

A GENUINE JIM-DANDY of a handbook on how not to run the government, or at least an important part of it, was released recently. This is James M. Landis' report to the new President on the regulatory agencies. His conclusion: they are in simply awful shape. Almost every student of government, from the sophomore political science major on up, knew this already. But to have the facts laid out by an expert on the Federal bureaucracy in clear, declarative sentences that a layman can understand and influence peddlers will find hard to cover up—this is a matter of more than passing importance, particularly when it lands, as it does now, on the launching pad of a new Administration, with specific recommendations for remedies.

Landis, former dean of the Harvard Law School and onetime chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, starts with the inescapable conclusion that we can't do without these agencies; whether we like it or not we are in for more, not less, regulation. Why? Air travel, for example, is getting faster, heavier, and infinitely more complicated. Transportation and freight rates require radical adjustment. New fuels and energies, atomic and other kinds, raise new problems of distribution and price structure. Communication satellites open whole new spectra in transmission channels for broadcasting and international interchange of messages—all of which call for some sort of Federal licensing and supervision. And so on into the near future.

But the Federal Trade, Power, Communications, Interstate Commerce, and other Commissions are not even doing the jobs they are supposed to do today. Too often they have become captives in the very fields they are supposed to regulate. "Spectacular instances of executive, legislative, and industry interference with the disposition of matters before the agencies have been uncovered," Landis reported, "including bribery among high government officials." Other criticisms: inordinate delays in disposition of cases; second-rate personnel; White House unconcern over what the agencies are doing; non-existence of even the most essential coordination between agencies.

People with business in Washington usually migrate sooner or later, after seeing their Congressman, to the doorstep of one of the regulatory agencies. Many of them soon find, however, if indeed they didn't know it already, that the side door or the back door provides quicker access for their errands than the front entrance. The front door is open to the public, ceremonially at least, but the public seldom thinks of representing its own interests. The result all too often has been that special, private interests—meaning business interests and even now and again labor interests—could manage to dominate the very agencies by which they were supposed to be regulated.

To skeptics who shrug these

EDWARD P. MORGAN is the prize-winning nightly newscaster for AFL-CIO. This article is adapted from two of Mr. Morgan's recent commentaries on the Landis report.

charges off as generalities from the wild blue yonder, here are some specifics to bring them down to earth:

¶ As of June 30, 1959, more than a third of the proceedings before the Civil Aeronautics Board had been pending for more than three years.

¶ Last September the Federal Power Commission announced it would take thirteen years to clear up its pending 2,313 producer rate cases and with the 6,500 new cases expected during that interval, the Commission couldn't pull up even with its work until the year 2043 even if its staff were tripled.

¶ The cost of pursuing a license or an administrative remedy through the agencies has mounted so that in many situations the small businessman can't compete; by contrast big firms spend large amounts on public relations techniques to create a national atmosphere helpful toward whatever they are trying to get from the agency involved.

¶ Lobbying in the worst sense has been prevalent in the White House itself over the issues of what airlines shall fly what international and overseas routes, assignments which by law are the ultimate determination of the President.

¶ Key parts of basic reports are rarely read by the individuals supposedly responsible for ultimate decisions. Indeed one covey of managerial consultants hired to survey the rickety Interstate Commerce Commission recommended the creation of an opinion-writing section for the ICC, so the commissioners wouldn't have to write their own rulings.

¶ Organization has become so fuzzed up with extraneous paper work that commissioners make decisions on a virtual assembly-line basis, seldom knowing much of their content. One commissioner calculated he had made 18,000 decisions in five years; another figured he had to make one every five minutes of his workday.

¶ There is a lack of policy formulation within agencies, an almost complete barrenness of such activity—except in conflict—where groups of agencies are concerned, such as in transportation and public health.

Some of the Landis report's strongest criticism hit the Federal Power Commission "as the outstanding example . . . of the breakdown of the administrative process." It accused the FPC of such inaction and disregard of consumer interest that state utility commissions have been ranged against it to protect the public against monopolistic and excessive rates. Landis depicted the FPC as such a captive of the oil and gas industry that it not only was unwilling to assume its responsibilities under the natural gas act but assumed a contemptuous attitude "of refusing in substance to obey the mandates of the Supreme Court of the United States and other Federal courts."

There were, however, barbed bouquets for every agency. The Federal Communications Commission was called an extraordinary spectacle of vacillation and drift, probably more susceptible to back-door influence than any other. The redolent scandals over the allocation of television channels should still be fresh enough in the country's nostrils to recall the unsavory procedures that passed, until recently at least, for business in the FCC.

Landis cited instances of how advertisers were able to capitalize on delays in procedures of the Federal Trade Commission in order to defeat regulations. "If the advertiser of a drug states that 'four out of five doctors' recommend it," the report said, "to prove the falsity of such an allegation, much massing of evidence ensues." Meanwhile the advertiser can go right on making his claim because the Commission has no power to issue interlocutory cease-and-desist orders on the basis of a prima facie case. "This," said Landis, "significantly emasculates the Commission's power to deal with the spate of deceptive advertising that floods our newspapers, our periodicals and our air waves." By the time the Commission has proved its case, the advertiser may have gone on to merchandising some other product.

Landis made a number of specific recommendations to remedy the sorry state into which the agencies have fallen and to restore their effectiveness. One was the creation of a new post in the White House to ride herd on them. (President Kennedy has persuaded Landis to take that job himself—temporarily.) Landis also urged the development of a national transportation policy, not now through creation of a new Cabinet post but initially through the executive office of the President. He proposed that agency chairmen be picked by the President to serve at his pleasure instead of the irresponsible, leaderless, round-robin rotation as practiced in the Interstate Commerce Commission. He said the President should issue an executive order carefully dealing with the ethics of government employes and their duty to reject and refrain from receiving *ex parte* contacts, that is to say, contacts in the interest of one side only.

But to me Landis' most meaningful recommendations dealt with personnel. "Good men can make poor laws workable," he said; "poor men will wreak havoc with good laws. As long as the selection of men for key administrative posts is based upon political reward rather than competency, little else that is done will really matter . . .

"Good men are primarily attracted by the challenge inherent in a job. Salary is a secondary consideration, provided only that it is high enough to enable them to meet reasonable standards of living comparable to their positions in the society . . . Tenure is another consideration of more importance than salary, for with tenure goes independence and the opportunity for long-range planning.

"Basic challenges have been missing in the last decade," the report continues. "Good men cannot be attracted . . . if they see that [their] colleagues . . .[and] staffs . . . are not measurable by standards they believe to be appropriate. . . . The appeal of a job can also be destroyed if the President, through design or neglect, permits his prejudices in behalf of political associates or friends to dictate the disposition of individual items of business. . . ."

In other words, quality attracts quality; the talent will be lured if there is proper attention given the challenge and the other basic points cited. Landis skipped over one vital emphasis. Congress has got to play ball with the agencies under these same rules, too, or the game of good administration will be called on account of rain of improper intervention and influence from Capitol Hill.

Cuba's Foreign Policy and Ours

by JAMES O'CONNOR

This is the third and last of a series of articles on Cuba by James O'Connor, who recently spent two months studying developments in that country. An economist at Barnard College, Mr. O'Connor has written for a number of professional and general publications. —THE EDITORS.

THE TEXT accompanying last October's announcement of the embargo on exports to Cuba finally revealed the U. S. State Department's "official" theory of Cuban foreign policy. How our government accounts for Castro's course of action is at last public knowledge. Ironically, in its eagerness to acquit the United States of charges of aggression in Cuba, the State Department betrayed its own true motives.

The United States alleged that the "measures taken by the government of Cuba aimed at reducing the movement of goods and services from the United States to Cuba . . . [cannot] be justified by a need to conserve foreign exchange reserves . . . rather . . . [they] are the result of a deliberate *political* policy to divert trade away from the United States" (emphasis added). Among the "politically" motivated trade policies denounced were the special taxes Cuba has placed on flour, cigarets, and other commodity imports; surcharges on foreign exchange remittances; and reduction of our rice quota.

In effect, the State Department accused Fidel Castro's government of severing ties with this country in favor of the Soviet Union for *political* reasons. In December, the Castro regime was publicly labeled by the United States as "Communist-controlled." The United States thus depicted Castro as a victim or a tool of a Soviet conspiracy to subvert democracy in the Western Hemisphere and deliver the Cuban people into Communist bondage. This impression is strengthened by the $1 million appropriation for the relief of Cuban refugees in Florida, an appropriation authorized by the Mutual Security Act "to encourage the hopes and aspirations of peoples who have been enslaved by Communism."

It seems clear, however, that the State Department's expressed theory of Cuban foreign policy is both incorrect and insincere.

What are some other interpretations that can be placed on Castro's actions? To begin with, in 1958, Batista's last year in power, the United States purchased fifty-eight per cent of the island's exports and sold Cuba seventy-one per cent of her imports. Nowhere in the West were the commercial relations between two sovereign nations so close. Was this the outgrowth of a mutually beneficial "natural" pattern of trade, as the United States has implied? Or, as Castro has time and again charged, was Cuba's economic dependence imposed on the island by the United States?

Consider first the composition of Cuba's imports. From the United States Cuba obtained nearly all her capital equipment, a large proportion of her manufactured consumer goods, and roughly one-half of her population's food requirements. Was it possible that an island rich in agricultural resources stood to gain by importing foods and raw materials? Not at all. Arising from special preferential duties favoring North American products (ranging from twenty to forty per cent under the Reciprocity Treaty of 1903 and augmented under the Trade Agreement of 1934 by as much as fifty per cent), Cuban-American trade patterns advanced the interests mainly of United States' exporters. Because our commodities were in this sense "subsidized," Cuban importers were deprived of the opportunity to buy in the most favorable markets; moreover, Cuban farmers and manufacturers, unable to compete on this basis, were plunged into a state of inefficiency and technological backwardness.

As a pre-condition of Cuba's economic development, Castro swept away the special advantages formerly extended to North American exporters and producers so that the new regime might draw more fully upon the island's resource potential. What is most striking about this policy is its economic, as opposed to political, rationale.

Was not Cuba, however, granted equivalent advantages by the United States? The Jones-Costigan Act of 1934 allotted Cuban sugar a fixed share, roughly one-third, of the protected market in this country. What is more, the quota price has in most years been considerably in excess of the world market price. It would seem, therefore, that Castro's denunciations of the quota system as "imperialistic" were vicious displays of Soviet-inspired propaganda.

Unfortunately, few systems of economic controls are as little understood as the quota system. Authored by Americans for the benefit of domestic sugar growers, the quota system was detrimental to Cuba's economic development for two reasons. First, had Cuba free and competitive access to the United States market, sugar prices would no doubt have fallen, yet because the island's soil is so well-suited to the cultivation of sugar, Cuban production and sales would have expanded on a large scale. Jose Guerra, Cuba's foremost sugar expert, asserts the increase in sales would have more than offset the decline in price.

Had the market been competitive, Cuba's dollar earnings from sugar exports would have risen.

Furthermore, under the quota system, which can only artificially be separated from foreign domination of the industry, Cuba failed to utilize fully her dollar earnings for the development of the domestic economy. Because the sugar industry was highly centralized, and in large part owned by foreign—chiefly American—interests, foreign exchange earnings were either squandered on luxury imports, or transferred to this country as profits. From 1950-58, for example, Cuba "exported" to the United States about $750 million in interest and dividends. Real wages of sugar workers responded only imperceptibly during boom periods, fell to starvation levels when the demand for sugar was sluggish. Thus for twenty-five years, the quota system, together with the pattern of monopoly control, retarded Cuba's economic growth.

Why, then, did Castro accuse the United States of "economic aggression" when Congress slashed the sugar quota in July? To the casual observer Castro might appear to have contradicted himself. In reality, once the National Bank cut back imports of luxury goods (a policy to which the United States objects strongly), and once the sugar *latifundia* were expropriated, Castro was in a position to plough back into the Cuban economy dollar earnings from sugar, simultaneously raising the living standards of the Cuban masses. Seen in this light, the apparent contradiction becomes a realistic approach to a basic problem.

Turning to Soviet-Cuban commercial relations, it can further be demonstrated that the "conspiracy" theory of Cuban foreign policy is designed to discredit Castro's accomplishments and humiliate his regime, and, for that reason, is devoid of real meaning. The first major offensive of "economic war" between Cuba and the United States was mounted in June by the oil giants, Standard, Texaco, and Shell, when they refused to refine Cuban-purchased Soviet oil. The Russian oil purchase could hardly be regarded as "politically" inspired since the Soviet price was nearly thirty per cent lower than that charged by the U.S. giants to their Cuban subsidiaries for Venezuelan crude. Yet the monopolies put up their backs, and Castro had no choice but to compel them to comply by intervening the refineries, which is preliminary to expropriation.

A few weeks later, the U.S. House of Representatives, by a vote of 394 to 0, reduced the sugar quota. Shortly after, the Soviet Union agreed to purchase at the world market price the nearly one million tons of the unsold 1959-60 quota. The direct outcome of a foolish and offensive piece of United States legislation, this Soviet-Cuban agreement can hardly be labeled "politically" motivated.

It was in this context, in this climate of economic warfare, that Cuba was blanketed with nationalization decrees. In August, then twice in October (the latter in retaliation against the export embargo), heavy counterblows were struck by Castro. By the end of the month, nearly all United States investments in Cuba were nationalized. Socialism in Cuba was born somewhat earlier than Cubans expected.

The United States has not confined itself to major acts of economic aggression. We refused to sell Cuba helicopters badly needed to dust her crops; export licenses for tractors and machinery were mysteriously held up; fruit and vegetable shipments were "over-inspected" in our ports; we advised tourists to stay away from Havana and North Americans residing in Cuba to leave the country; according to a friend employed as a high-ranking economist by the Cuban government, Cuban engineers and scientists have been offered fabulous salaries by certain Latin American governments whose identities are carefully concealed; this list could be extended indefinitely.

During Castro's first months in office, the State Department's line was less clear. "The State Department said it had no reliable information as to what Castro stood for," reported the New York *Times* January 1, 1959. Yet our policy-makers were clearly encouraged by the liberal-bourgeois composition of Castro's first cabinet. A week later, according to the *Times*, "State Department officials said . . . the United States has been reassured about the stability and direction of the new government because the cabinet represented a broad spectrum of anti-Bastista forces."

For the business community, in the United States and Cuba, the future seemed promising. *The Wall Street Journal* reported Jan. 2, 1959, that "American concerns with Cuban interests generally did not expect the change in Cuba's government to hamper their operations." Our embassy in Havana was almost ecstatic. "Long term, the outlook for American investment in Cuba is terrific." On the stock market, issues of mining, oil, and utility companies with Cuban subsidiaries showed strong gains. In Cuba itself, some firms were pre-paying taxes to help Castro consolidate his new government while others were planning to accelerate investment plans temporarily postponed during the revolution. One American businessman summed up what seemed the general feeling when he said, "With an honest government this island could be an economic paradise." Business leaders in Cuba, said *The Wall Street Journal* January 8, 1959, who "as recently as one month ago were gravely concerned about the revolutionaries," apparently had undergone a radical shift in temper.

Prior to taking power, Castro found little support in American business circles and less in the State Department. Arthur Krock reported that "an influential group [in the U.S. government] argued that the grounds for essential assistance to Batista were sound, clearly in the interest of the United States and against that of Soviet Russia." This group was unquestionably laying down the main lines of our Cuban policy. Three military missions, for example, established in Cuba for "hemispheric defense," were retained until Castro himself asked them to leave.

On January 2, 1959, the United States Immigration Commissioner disclosed that smashing "attempts to smuggle arms to Cuba" (for Castro) was one of his main pursuits in 1958. Of rebel activity along the Florida coast, he said that "it was anticipated . . early in the year, and [our] force there was augmented." It is instructive to contrast this forceful attitude with that toward the anti-Castro

fire-bomb raiders. Samuel Shapiro put it well when he wrote in *The New Republic*, "When small planes based on Florida made repeated raids on Cuban cities and cane fields [in 1959], the State Department was slow to admit the fact, slower still to apologize for it, and slowest of all to take measures against such flights; it was 'impossible,' a spokesman said, to police such a large area."

Once Castro assumed power, a split evidently developed between the American business community and its spokesman, Ambassador Earl Smith, on the one hand, and the State Department on the other. Directly after Batista's flight, Smith, an admirer of the dictator, apparently tried to thwart Castro's rise to power by throwing his support behind the ill-fated junta headed by Batista General Cantillo. According to Cuban Senator Chibas, a man not given to overstatement, Smith did his utmost (much as did Sumner Welles in the revolt of 1933) to divert the revolution into more conservative channels. When this policy failed, Smith reversed field, fell in behind Castro, praised the conduct of the revolutionary army, and, on January 7, 1959, he recommended American aid to the new government. It is clear that Smith aimed to prevent more than token social reforms by buying favors from the new regime with United States assistance.

The State Department ignored Smith's advice and quickly turned down Castro's request for a $5 million loan and barter agreement. Similarly, the United States refused aid to a subsequent mission, headed by Dr. Justo Carillo of the Cuban Development Bank. The giant international lending agencies turned a deaf ear to Cuba, and reportedly credits from the big European investment banks suddenly became impossible to obtain. Meanwhile, Congress vehemently denounced the trials of war criminals as "blood baths;" Representative Wayne Hays demanded a trade embargo against Cuba if Castro persisted in prosecuting Batista's henchmen. When, as a result, Castro invited eleven Congressmen and Senators to Cuba, only Representative Adam Clayton Powell accepted. And while the Immigration Service assured Cuba that it would take a "long, hard look" before admitting to this country the most vicious of Batista's murderers, Rolando Mesferrer, he now resides within our borders.

Evidence that the Cuban revolution would be no ordinary *coup* had been accumulating throughout 1958. Unquestionably, by early 1959, our Latin American experts had been made aware by events in Cuba that Castro would not and could not channel the revolution into New Deal-type lines. There was, for example, no doubt that Castro planned an immediate and dramatic improvement in the material conditions of the Cuban peasants, making far-reaching alterations in the structure of Cuban agriculture necessary. What in 1958 was most conspicuous (but least publicized) in Castro-occupied territory was the voluntary collectivization of the peasants. Moreover, it was known that Castro's lieutenants, his brother, Guevara, Hart, Jimenez, and others, were radicals, not liberals; social revolutionaries, not reformers. It is true that in recognition of their services to the revolution the bourgeoisie were well represented in the first revolutionary cabinet. But our experts surely had acquired intimations of what would eventually be in store for the Cuban middle-classes. A member of the revolutionary committee assigned to the American and Foreign Power Company, for instance, said as early as January 8, 1959 that "we are running the company." This is why the State Department publicly viewed Cuba's future as "uncertain."

Yet Undersecretary Rubottom explicitly denied that the revolution was Communist-inspired or influenced. The Communist Party in Cuba fell in behind Castro only reluctantly and rather late in the game. What we feared in Cuba, it seems to me, was socialism, not Communism. Beneath the adoration of Castro by the peasant masses ran a powerful undercurrent of radicalism, a kind of home-grown, pragmatic, inarticulate socialism. Linked with conditions in other Latin American countries, the State Department no doubt saw the danger in this. The New York *Times* said a few months ago, "Cuban policies (Washington thinks) imperil not only vast U.S. economic holdings in Latin America, but U.S. prestige and influence in the area." And, touching briefly on the Communism issue, it may be recalled that as late as last fall Cuba, on two major issues, voted *against* the Soviet Union in the United Nations.

The State Department then played a waiting game until the revolution gradually revealed its radical, anti-bourgeois nature. Once it was certain that Cuba's socialism threatened United States property and political hegemony in the hemisphere, once Fidel Castro dramatized himself as the savior of the Latin American masses, the State Department dropped its "neutralist" mask and took the offensive.

Step number one appeared to be an unceasing diplomatic warfare against Cuba, aiming ultimately to fix a Communist label on the revolutionary government. In this the State Department has triumphed. In the 60,000-odd anti-Castro Cuban "refugees from Communism," we have a sizable diplomatic bank account. The drive to quarantine Castro culminated in the complete diplomatic rupture between the two countries—partly the effect of Castro's own impatience. Formal severance of relations would seem to pave the way for closer informal ties between the United States government and the counter-revolution in exile. Closing our embassy, however, has evidently revived and intensified the struggle between Left and Right in other Latin American countries; the Chilean government, in particular, has disassociated itself from this latest move, in order to discredit charges by the Left opposition that the regime is politically subservient to the United States. United States diplomatic policy may yet backfire.

Step number two, consisting of United States economic policies toward Cuba, seems to have been designed in part to complement diplomatic moves to isolate Cuba from her neighbors, and in part to promote domestic counter-revolution by weakening the Cuban economy.

Had the State Department not been aware of the complementary nature of foreign economic and diplomatic policies, we would have long ago put an end to economic aid to Poland and

Yugoslavia. In Eastern Europe, we have attempted through economic assistance to drive a wedge between Russia and her satellites. In Cuba, commented the New York *Times* November 20, 1960, our economic "measures . . . have pushed the Castro regime closer to the Communist bloc."

Meanwhile, U.S. economic policies have hastened the collectivization of the island's economy. Last summer, for example, Castro had for the time being no plans to nationalize American firms in Cuba; the Planning Board, in fact, had just prepared a new corporation income tax schedule. In this way, we have indirectly impeded Cuba's economic reconstruction, evidently hoping thereby to win the Cuban masses over to counter-revolution.

Stanley Meisler, a respected Washington newspaperman, said in *The Nation*, "Unofficially . . .there seems to be hope [in Washington] that the loss in revenues [following the reduction of the sugar quota] will hurt Castro by causing discontent among the 500,000 Cuban sugar cane workers who face a possible cut in wages, and among Cuban consumers . . ." Putting a strain on the Cuban economy is the real key to counter-revolution, since without the support of Cuba's workers and peasants, the middle-classes, few in number, disorganized, largely opportunistic, are helpless. To date, this policy has been a costly failure.

Can we then, on this basis, expect the United States to support a military action against Cuba? There have been reports of United States military aid to Cuban exiles, yet so long as Castro enjoys the support of the Cuban masses, even a large-scale invasion would end in tragedy. First, a landing force would have to cope with a people's militia, 250,000 strong, together with a 50,000 man army. The Organization of American States would withhold its backing from the United States; for this reason alone, any invasion authorized by this country would be political suicide. A United States spokesman recently admitted the impossibility of invoking the Rio Treaty because "public opinion in Latin America is not prepared for such an action." Lastly, there is the possibility, however remote, of Russian intervention.

Yet, according to two sources, Cuban exiles in Guatemala are being trained in the use of United States military equipment by officers of the United States army. Honduran Congressman Idelfonso Orellana Buesco reported in October, 1960, that thirty transport planes from this country had arrived in Guatemala with arms and Cuban counter-revolutionaries. And recently Dr. Ronald Hilton, director of the Institute of Hispanic-American Studies at Stanford University, pointed to reports that a tract of land in Guatemala, reportedly acquired by the Central Intelligence Agency for $1 million, was being used to train exiles preparing to invade Cuba. Guatemalan President Ydigoras has denied the allegation, stating that Guatemalans are being taught defensive warfare in the area. The government has turned down requests for an investigation made by opposition deputies on grounds of military secrecy.

Surveying the origins of Cuban-American tensions, one would be naive to hold Fidel Castro wholly blameless. In the Premier's catalogue of charges against the United States, there is a great deal of make-believe. It has been said that he is disingenuous, intemperate, sometimes hysterical. Unquestionably he has been all of these things. There is little doubt that his attacks on the United States have helped divert attention away from serious domestic problems. What is more, he seems to have used this country's hostility to Cuba as a pretext for denying civil liberties to the "liberal" bourgeoisie, who might have served the revolution well. This, in my view, was both unnecessary and wrong.

We cannot expect even temper from a revolutionary, yet Castro's stubbornness has put off many liberals and radicals in Cuba, in this country, and in the rest of Latin America. It is true that in any negotiations with a hostile United States, Castro would be compelled to offer more compromises than his adversaries, who have conceded little or nothing. But if he is as great a man as ardent *Fidelistas* believe, then it is up to him to do just that. What I am saying is that we have the *right* to expect more of a Fidel Castro, a great deal more, than of a Christian Herter or a Cabot Lodge. As a revolutionary, as a democrat, and as a humanist, his responsibility to liberals and radicals, peasants and workers, in all countries, transcends his temporary feud with the United States. Sooner or later, according to his own line of thinking, the United States will come around to his way of viewing social problems and social evils, his humane and uncompromising concern about the health, education, and material and social well-being of a nation's people.

And so he has in part betrayed those who placed faith in him. His tragedy is that temporarily at least he has undermined his own efforts for a free and prosperous Latin America. Yet one must be careful not to attribute to the force of Castro's personality too much significance. What is most important in Cuba and Latin America now is that for the first time the impoverished masses are demanding a voice in their own destiny.

SPECIAL STUDENT RATES for Classroom Use

A Detroit teacher writes: "The Progressive is more valuable reading for my students than any textbook."

The Progressive is available to students and teachers at the low rate of only $1 per student per semester when ten or more copies are sent in a bundle to one address. Adult study groups may also take advantage of this special school rate.

School Department

THE PROGRESSIVE Madison, Wisconsin

either — or

by SIR CHARLES P. SNOW

This article is adapted from a brilliant but little publicized address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science recently. Sir Charles Percy Snow is a distinguished British scientist better known to readers of his novels as C. P. Snow. No effort has been made to edit the speech from spoken to written style.—THE EDITORS.

THE DISCOVERY of atomic fission broke up the world of international physics. "This has killed a beautiful subject," said Mark Oliphant, the father-figure of Australian physics, in 1945, after the bombs had dropped. In intellectual terms, he has not turned out right. In spiritual and moral terms, I sometimes think he has.

A good deal of the international community of science remains in other fields—in great areas of biology, for example. Many biologists are feeling the same liberation, the same joy at taking part in a magnanimous enterprise, as physicists felt in the Twenties. More than likely, the moral and intellectual leadership of science will pass to biologists, and it is among them we shall find the Rutherfords, Bohrs, and Francks of the next generation.

Physicists have had a bitterer task. With the discovery of fission, and with some technical breakthroughs in electronics, physicists became, almost overnight, the most important military resource a nation-state could call on. A large number of physicists became soldiers not in uniform. So they have remained, in the advanced societies, ever since.

It is very difficult to see what else they could have done. All this began in the Hitler war. Most scientists thought then that Nazism was as near absolute evil as a human society can manage. I myself thought so. I still think so, without qualification. That being so, Nazism had to be fought, and since the Nazis might make fission bombs—which we thought possible until 1944, and which was a continual nightmare if one was remotely in the know—well then, we had to make them too. Unless one was an unlimited pacifist, there was nothing else to do. And unlimited pacifism is a position which most of us cannot sustain.

Therefore I respect, and to a large extent share, the moral attitudes of those scientists who devoted themselves to making the bomb. But when you get on to any kind of moral escalator, the trouble is to know whether you are ever going to be able to get off. When scientists became soldiers they gave up something, so imperceptibly that they didn't realize it, of the full scientific life. Not intellectually. I see no evidence that scientific work on weapons of maximum destruction has been in any intellectual respect different from other scientific work. But there is a moral difference.

It may be—scientists who are better men than I am often take this attitude, and I have tried to represent it faithfully in one of my books—that this is a moral price which, in certain circumstances, has to be paid. Nevertheless, it is no good pretending that there is not a moral price. Soldiers have to obey. That is the foundation of their morality. It is not the foundation of the scientific morality. Scientists have to question and if necessary to rebel.

I don't want to be misunderstood. I am no anarchist. I am not suggesting that loyalty is not a prime virtue. I am not saying that all rebellion is good. But I am saying that loyalty can easily turn into conformity, and that conformity can often be a cloak for the timid and self-seeking. So can obedience, carried to the limit.

When you think of the long and gloomy history of man, you will find far more, and far more hideous, crimes have been committed in the name of obedience than have ever been committed in the name of rebellion. If you doubt that, read William Shirer's *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*. The German officer corps were brought up in the most rigorous code of obedience. To themselves, no more honorable and God-fearing body of men could conceivably exist. Yet in the name of obedience they were party to, and assisted in, the most wicked large-scale actions in the history of the world.

Scientists must not go that way. Yet the duty to question is not much of a support when you are living in the middle of an organized society. I speak with feeling here. I was an official for twenty years. I went into official life at the beginning of the war, for the reasons my scientific friends began to make weapons. I stayed in that life until a year ago, for the same reason that made my scientific friends turn into civilian soldiers. The official life in England is not quite so disciplined as a soldier's, but it is very nearly so.

I think I know the virtues, which are very great, of the men who live that disciplined life. I also know what for me was the moral trap. I, too, had got onto an escalator. I can put the result in a sentence: I was coming to hide behind the institution, I was losing the power to say "no."

Only a very bold man, when he is a member of an organized society, can keep the power to say "No." I tell you that, not being a very bold man, or one who finds it congenial to stand alone, away from his colleagues. We can't expect many scientists to do it.

Is there any tougher ground for them to stand on? I suggest to you

that there is. I believe that there is a spring of moral action in the scientific activity which is at least as strong as the search for truth. The name of this spring is knowledge. Scientists know certain things in a fashion more immediate and more certain than those who don't comprehend what science is. Unless we are abnormally weak or abnormally wicked men, this knowledge is bound to shape our actions. Most of us are timid; but, to an extent, knowledge gives us guts. Perhaps it can give us guts strong enough for the jobs in hand.

I had better take the most obvious example. All physical scientists know that it is relatively easy to make plutonium. We know this, not as a journalistic fact at second-hand, but as a fact in our own experience. We can work out the number of scientific and engineering personnel it needs for a nation-state to equip itself with fission and fusion bombs. We know that for a dozen or more states, it will only take perhaps six years, perhaps fewer. Even the best-informed of us always exaggerates these periods.

This we know, with the certainty of—what shall I call it?—engineering truth. We also know most of us are familiar with statistics and the nature of odds. We know, with the certainty of statistical truth, that if enough of these weapons are made—by enough different states—some of them are going to blow up. Through accident, or folly, or madness—but the motives don't matter. What does matter is the nature of the statistical fact.

All this we know. We know it in a more direct sense than any politician because it comes from our direct experience. It is part of our minds. Are we going to let it happen?

All this we know. It throws upon scientists a direct and personal responsibility. It is not enough to say that scientists have a responsibility as citizens. They have a much greater one than that, and one different in kind. For scientists have a moral imperative to say what they know. It is going to make them unpopular in their own nation-states. It may do worse than make them unpopular. That doesn't matter. Or at least, it does matter to you and me, but it must not count in the face of the risks.

For we genuinely know the risks. We are faced with an "either-or," and we haven't much time. Either we accept a restriction of nuclear armaments. This is going to begin, just as a token, with an agreement on the stopping of nuclear tests. The United States is not going to get the 99.9 per cent "security" that it has been asking for. It is unobtainable, though there are other bargains that the United States could probably secure. I am not going to conceal from you that this course involves certain risks. They are quite obvious, and no honest man is going to blink them.

That is the "either." The "or" is not a risk but a certainty. It is this. There is no agreement on tests. The nuclear arms race between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. not only continues, but accelerates. Other countries join in. Within, at the most, six years, China and several other states will have a stock of nuclear bombs. Within, at the most, ten years, some of these bombs are going off.

I am saying this as responsibly as I can. That is the certainty. On the one side, therefore, we have a finite risk. On the other side we have a certainty of disaster. Between a risk and a certainty, a sane man does not hesitate.

It is the plain duty of scientists to explain this "either-or". It is a duty which seems to me to come from the moral nature of the scientific activity itself.

The same duty, though in a much more pleasant form, arises about the benevolent powers of science. For scientists know, and again with the certainty of scientific knowledge, that we possess every scientific fact we need to transform the physical life of half the world—and transform it within the span of people now living. I mean, we have all the resources to help half the world live as long as we do, and eat enough. All that is missing is the will. We know that. Just as we know that you in this country, and to a slightly less extent we in ours, have been almost unimaginably lucky. (We are sitting like people in a smart and cozy restaurant, and we are eating comfortably, looking out of the window into the streets. Down on the pavement are people who are looking up at us: people who by chance have different colored skins from ours, and are rather hungry. Do you wonder that they don't like us all that much? Do you wonder that we sometimes feel ashamed of ourselves, as we look out through that plateglass?)

Well, it is within our power to get started on that problem. We are morally impelled to. We all know that, if the human species does solve that one, there will be consequences which are themselves problems. For instance, the population of the world will become embarrassingly large. But that is another challenge. There are going to be challenges to our intelligence and to our moral nature as long as man remains man. After all, a challenge is not, as the word is coming to be used, an excuse for slinking off and doing nothing. A challenge is something to be picked up.

renew

your subscription to

The Progressive

now!

☐ Renew my subscription 1 year ☐ $ 5
☐ Payment enclosed 2 years ☐ $ 9
☐ Bill me 3 years ☐ $12

Name.....

Address.....

The Progressive
MADISON, WIS.

The Urgent Need for Medical Manpower

by SELIG GREENBERG

A CRUCIAL ISSUE which the Kennedy Administration will soon have to face is the need for a broad expansion of the nation's supply of doctors and other health personnel to meet the challenge of an explosively changing pattern of population, disease, and medical care. The critical nature of this need has long been common knowledge among authorities in the health field. But nothing has so forcefully focused general public attention on its urgency as has the controversy over the influx of thousands of foreign-trained physicians into the United States in recent years.

Ten years ago American hospitals employed on their house staffs fewer than 2,000 graduates of foreign medical schools. Since then the number of foreign-trained physicians serving in this capacity has more than quadrupled and considerably exceeds the annual output of about 7,000 graduates by our own medical schools. One of every three doctors now serving as intern or resident in hospitals in this country was educated abroad. But so serious is the shortage of doctors that about one-fourth of the hospital house staff positions remain unfilled.

But even more disturbing than the quantity of foreign-trained physicians upon whom we have increasingly become dependent is the quality of their medical education.

The skimpy training of some of these doctors was dramatically pinpointed in November, 1959, when Martyn Green, famed British star of Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, crushed one of his legs in an elevator accident in New York City. Green's leg was amputated on the spot by an Indian intern who used a pocket knife borrowed from a policeman. In the storm which subsequently erupted over whether the drastic surgery might have been averted, the hospital involved conceded that there had been a delay of twenty-three minutes in answering the emergency call, and that the intern had failed to take along his kit of medical instruments or an anesthetic.

In the meantime, a heated controversy was building up over the requirements for certification of alien physicians established by the American Medical Association and several other professional organizations. It is true that the AMA must bear much of the responsibility for the shortage of doctors that has forced American hospitals to recruit many of their interns and residents from abroad. But, ironically enough, it is being criticized for the wrong reasons in the dispute over standards in which even the State Department has recently become involved.

In order to understand the background of this controversy, we must get some idea of the conflicting motivations at play. Why are so many foreign-trained doctors coming here? The obvious reason is that they want to further their medical knowledge in advanced training facilities unequalled anywhere else in the world. Theoretically, the objective of such training is to enable them to do a better job when they go back to their native lands. In practice, this end is only partially achieved; about half of the more than 20,000 alien physicians admitted to this country have settled here and are in private practice.

Much the same ambivalence has been evident on our side, too. The thinking behind the program providing temporary visas for foreign doctors, approved by Congress some years ago, was to make our training facilities available to help lift the standards of medical practice in poorer countries. But as our own shortage of physicians has progressively worsened, a good deal of the original aim has been lost sight of. Hospitals desperately in need of interns and residents have often come to look upon foreign doctors primarily as a source of cheap medical labor. Significantly, state and local hospital associations have strongly resisted attempts to weed out the less competent foreign members of house staffs.

Because of growing concern over the qualifications of some of the alien physicians, it was decided in 1958 that the visitors should be required to pass examinations as a condition of being allowed to continue to stay in the United States and to hold their hospital posts. The screening tests are given periodically by the Educational Council for Foreign Medical Graduates, sponsored jointly by the AMA, the American Hospital Association, the Association of American Medical Colleges, and the Federation of State Medical Boards. The examinations consist of a multiple-choice medical test and an English-language test. The test questions have been devised by a group of prominent medical school teachers and are patterned after those given to American-trained medical graduates by the National Board of Medical Examiners. The only difference, according to the Council, is that the questions "are selected as being least likely to confuse those whose command of English is somewhat limited."

Those failing to pass the examinations have been allowed to make another try for passing grades. But so high was the rate of failures in the

SELIG GREENBERG, writer on medical problems for the Providence Journal and Evening Bulletin, has twice been honored by the Lasker Foundation for distinguished writing on medicine. He is the winner of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association Award for his series of articles on the problems of the aged.

first series of tests that the organizations sponsoring the Educational Council for Foreign Medical Graduates decided that hospitals must stop employing uncertified staff members by last July 1 or face loss of their accreditation. The ruling brought such an outcry from hospitals clearly more interested in retaining their manpower than in the caliber of their house staffs that the deadline was promptly extended to December 31. But this by no means stilled the protests.

A total of 7,308 foreign doctors took the latest examinations in September. Of these, 3,222 passed with grades of 75 or better and thereby gained the right to remain in the United States for five years. An additional 2,084 received grades of 70 to 74, qualifying them to stay here for two more years and to have another chance at the tests for longer extension of their visas. This left 2,000 who flunked and were to be deported after the first of the year.

So loud was the new outburst of protests from hospitals and from the foreign physicians themselves—some of whom have charged, without a scintilla of evidence, that the tests were rigged to screen them out of the United States and thus prevent them from competing with American-trained doctors—that still another reprieve was granted. The AMA agreed to a new six-month extension, partly under pressure from the State Department, which expressed concern that a mass deportation might cause widespread resentment abroad.

The need for safeguards so that the United States will not become a dumping ground for poorly trained doctors is underscored by the sad state of medical education in many parts of the world. There are unquestionably many fine foreign medical schools. But authoritative opinion is that there are also many poor ones, some of them little more than diploma mills. Graduates of schools in the latter category unfortunately predominate among those who have flocked to this country.

Relatively few of the doctors coming here are from Western Europe or England, where standards of medical education are not far behind our own. The bulk of the visiting physicians have come from the Philippine Islands, Mexico, Turkey, India, Iran, Korea, Greece, Japan, Spain, Brazil, Argentina, Cuba, Peru, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic. Measured by American standards, the training received in most of these countries is perfunctory. The entire teaching program in their medical schools usually is conducted by formal lectures, a type of education discarded in this country fifty years ago. Emphasis on clinical and laboratory training necessarily limits the size of classes in American medical schools. But some foreign schools have classes ten times as large as ours—far too large for good training. Some of them admit as many as 1,600 freshmen. An entering class of this size, one medical educator has said, "is like attending school in a $2 seat in Yankee Stadium."

In some cases, American hospitals have been shocked to discover that their interns recruited through advertisements in foreign medical magazines or through travel agents abroad are in reality graduates of native herb schools in India or Korea.

The language barrier alone can become a danger to human life. It can be extremely hazardous to delegate care of patients to apprentice physicians whose knowledge of English is sometimes so fragmentary that they can neither understand the instructions of their mentors nor communicate with their patients. There are also cultural barriers, particularly in the case of doctors from such areas as the Far East and Southeast Asia. Coming from social environments radically different from ours, these physicians can hardly be expected to display the understanding of their patients' problems so important in medical treatment.

There are, furthermore, basic differences in health problems in this country and in other parts of the world. "Medical schools in many countries," Dr. Walter S. Wiggins, Secretary of the AMA's Council on Medical Education and Hospitals, has said, "dwell heavily on public health measures to eradicate contagious diseases such as typhoid and dysentery. These are no longer major problems here, and we emphasize degenerative diseases of the elderly, such as cancer, heart and arterial ailments. We have to measure these foreign doctors against our peculiar problems, not theirs."

The shortage of physicians is not something which has burst upon us overnight. It has been building up for years as the output of our medical schools has failed to keep pace with population growth, now proceeding at the rate of three million a year, and the steady expansion of demand for medical services and for research personnel.

Ten years ago, there were 143.4 doctors, including osteopaths, for every 100,000 Americans. Now the ratio is 140.7. At the present rate of training, there will be only 133 by 1975. Our schools of medicine and osteopathy are currently turning out about 7,500 graduates a year. Just to maintain the present ratio of a little under 141 physicians per 100,000 people, we will need an annual output of 11,000 M.D.s and D.O.s by 1975, or an increase of nearly fifty per cent.

The same holds true of dentists. There were fifty-nine dentists for each 100,000 persons in 1930. Today the figure is fifty-six, and it will be down to fifty by 1975 unless there is a broad expansion of dental school capacity. To maintain the level of fifty-six dentists per 100,000 in 1975 will require an increase from the present 3,200 to more than 6,000 dental graduates a year.

The doctor-population ratio figures do not, moreover, tell the whole story. Not only has the overall supply of physicians fallen far behind the sharp rise in population and demand, but more and more doctors are going into teaching, research, hospital practice, public health work, and industrial and military medicine. The proportion of doctors engaged in private practice has dropped from eighty-six to sixty-nine per cent in the past thirty years. The result is that there are now only ninety-one physicians in private practice per 100,000 persons. Nearly half of these, furthermore, are specialists. The proportion of general practitioners—the first line of defense against illness—has declined by more than forty per cent since 1930, so that there is at present only one family doctor for every 1,600 people.

This has been happening while a variety of factors has combined to build up the demand for medical and hospital care. Among these factors have been the steady rise in our standard of living and educational level, the phenomenal expansion of health insurance, and the constant increase in the number of older people, who are the most prone to the chronic diseases and thus require the most medical care. There has been increasing awareness of the value of medical care and increasing ability to pay for it. Whereas the average American visited a doctor 2.5 times a year three decades ago, he is now doing so five times a year. And the hospitalization rate has jumped three times since 1940.

It is true that greatly improved diagnostic and therapeutic techniques have raised the efficiency of medical care and enable the average physician to handle more patients. But it is an indisputable fact that many doctors are overworked—their crowded offices and general reluctance to make home and night calls are ample evidence that there are not enough of them. The average physician now works sixty hours a week and sees more than twenty patients a day. This in itself raises extremely serious questions about his ability to give his patients the amount of time they should have for adequate treatment and to have the time to try to keep up with new developments in medicine. But unless the supply of medical school graduates is stepped up beyond anything now contemplated, the average doctor will soon be working from sixty-five to seventy-five hours a week.

Several official study commissions have concluded that from fourteen to twenty new medical schools will have to be provided within the next ten years if the present doctor-population ratio is not to slide still further. Even the AMA, which until recently insisted that there is no shortage of physicians, now concedes that the facilities for medical education must be expanded. The trouble is, however, that no such large-scale expansion can take place without massive Federal aid. The AMA has not only vigorously opposed the appropriation of Federal funds for new medical school construction but has blocked legislation to help relieve the financial plight of the existing schools through grants to meet part of their large operating deficits.

If the country's future needs for skilled medical manpower are to be met, substantial Federal aid also is needed to provide both loans and scholarships for eligible students not otherwise able to afford a medical education.

There has been an alarming drop in recent years in the number as well as the caliber of medical school applicants. The reasons are all too obvious. Medical training is far more protracted and expensive than that for any other profession. It involves four years of college, four years of medical school, two years of hospital internship at low pay, and an additional minimum of three years of residency to qualify for a specialty. To pay the high tuition—which nevertheless fails to come anywhere near meeting the cost of training—and for other essential expenses, the average unmarried medical student now needs $2,400 a year. While some scholarship aid is available, grants are generally lower than those offered for graduate work in other professional fields. More than half of the 1959 medical graduates wound up in debt, seventeen per cent of them for more than $5,000. The result has been that family income is increasingly playing a key role in the decision to enter medicine. "Fully forty per cent of medical students now come from the eight per cent of the nation's families with annual incomes of $10,000 or more," Dr. Lamar Soutter, dean of the Boston University School of Medicine, recently told me. "That's terribly wrong. It's vital to democracy that medical education should be open to any well-qualified person."

Underlying the AMA's opposition to a Federal aid program of wide scope for medical education is its long-standing hostility to any concerted planning for improvement of health services that might become a stepping stone to the bugaboo of "socialized medicine." Doctors understandably have a deep interest in maintaining high standards of medical education. So do all of us as potential patients. But in view of organized medicine's record of limiting its professional ranks, there is reason to suspect the motives behind the official line that Federal aid for the expansion and operation of medical schools would lead to undue government interference and an impairment of standards.

The problem of the widening gap between our supply of physicians and the need for their services clearly cannot be met by importing ill-trained foreign doctors. Aside from the threat to our own standards of medical care, there is the moral issue as to whether the wealthiest nation in the world has the right to deplete the thin professional resources of poorer countries.

Dr. Leroy E. Burney, Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service, has summed up the issue in these words: "The United States has an obligation to share its opportunities for professional advancement with less favored countries. But is it in any sense defensible that our rich nation should depend on foreign graduates to meet its own immediate needs for medical manpower? On the contrary, we should be in a position to send more of our physicians to countries that need assistance in developing their medical education programs."

It is certainly not without significance in the rapidly developing battle for the minds and loyalties of the people of the underdeveloped countries that while we are forced to import substantial numbers of foreign physicians to keep our hospitals going, the Soviet Union already is, or soon will be, in a position to export doctors. The Russians have been outdistancing us not only in space propulsion but also in the training of medical personnel. It is reported there are now 180 Soviet physicians per 100,000 population as against a ratio of fewer than 141 in this country, and the figure planned by the Russians for 1965 is 220 physicians for every 100,000 persons. Russian doctors are not so well trained as ours are. But so urgent are the medical needs of the new and underdeveloped nations that the availability of Soviet physicians, regardless of their caliber, may become an important weapon against us.

Wind of Change in Central Africa

by CLYDE SANGER

A YEAR AGO, 1960 was being hailed as "Africa Year" by those who had felt Britain's Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's "wind of change" rising in force. The waves of nationalism which were to obliterate colonialism had risen years before in the north—in Egypt, Tunisia, Ghana. In 1960 they were to roll south. Nigeria, where nearly one-fifth of the continent's 200 million people live, became independent in October. The Congo, because of Belgium's lack of preparation, exchanged colonialism for chaos. But other countries came into being more gracefully: several former French territories, led by wise men like the Abbe Youlou; and Britain's trust territory of Tanganyika, which has been helped along by the avuncular United Nations. Even the two Somalis, far in the east, where men survive in an arid land on cattle and pride, passed the danger point of swift independence quietly.

This year promises to be another such "African Year." In some corners the waves, and problems, are mounting—in Algeria and the Congo, for instance. And in the three British territories in central Africa, grouped in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, this will be the year of momentous decisions. At best, the opposing politicians there could agree to remodel completely this tightly knit Federation as a loose economic union. At worst, the year could end with central Africa becoming Britain's Algeria.

Such a nightmare never occurred to the British Conservative leaders who launched this Federation in October, 1953. The colonial secretary at that time was a big businessman, Oliver Lyttleton, who soon afterwards returned to commerce as head of Britain's huge Amalgamated Electrical Industries. To him, federation of these territories, each of which has a population of about two and one-half million but completely different economies, made business sense. They would help each other to joint prosperity.

There was another reason why the Conservative government bustled federation through, after the Labor governments of 1941-51 had dithered, seeing the potential advantages but noting the strength of African opposition. The Conservatives had watched black and white extremism rear up on both sides of Central Africa: to the north in Kenya, Mau Mau terrorism was at its height; to the south, the Union of South Africa's apartheid policies were gaining a stranglehold. If these countries were left as they were—Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland as British protectorates, Southern Rhodesia a self-governing colony under an all-white legislature—Southern Rhodesia might even be annexed by South Africa. A great number of Afrikaners had trekked north into Southern Rhodesia and might act as the "wooden horse" warriors did at Troy.

Britain therefore blessed the federal scheme and pressed it through with scarcely a second thought. The two Rhodesian politicians who had been promoting federation for years were Sir Roy Welensky of Northern Rhodesia and Sir Godfrey Huggins of Southern Rhodesia. Their careers and characters could hardly be more different—Huggins a neat and sharp family doctor; Welensky a lumbering, bluff railwayman and trade unionist—but their aims were the same. They both wanted to join the wealth of Northern Rhodesia's Copperbelt, which in a good year produces a profit of about 270 million dollars, with the white skills and the capital of Southern Rhodesia. The latter had temporarily impoverished herself by doubling her white population in eight postwar years through massive immigration schemes. Together, the two Rhodesias, Huggins and Welensky believed, could form a great new industrial nation in the heart of Africa.

The British government was enthusiastic about these ambitions, but it made two moves which proved the undoing, six years later, of Welensky's plans. Lyttleton insisted that Nyasaland, a picturesque but poor hill country, be included in the Federation. A third of Nyasaland's able-bodied men were permanently abroad in the Rhodesias as farm or mine labor, and it was only right, he argued, that the Rhodesias, through a federal government, should subsidize Nyasaland's development. Huggins and Welensky objected, but Lyttleton banged the conference table in his best tycoon manner and said with finality, "All or nothing." So Nyasaland was included.

Britain's second move was to insist that the Federation be officially dedicated to the principle of racial partnership. African opposition to federation had eloquently centered on the objection that Southern Rhodesian whites behaved like a *herrenvolk* to their own Africans and, since they were to be preponderant in the federal assembly, white domination would be spread through the other two territories. The British government paid little heed to these protests, believing that the benefits of federation would soon become evident to all; but it wrote into the federal constitution's preamble a sentence declaring racial partnership its aim. The Southern Rhodesian whites did not like this at all, but Huggins assured them that black-white partnership meant the same to him as the partnership of horse and

CLYDE SANGER roams over Africa for the Manchester Guardian.

rider. So the Federation began, over the objections of nearly every articulate African.

Now, seven years later, federation in its present form has proved a failure; this is agreed by everyone except those with vested interests in it, such as Sir Roy Welensky, who succeeded Huggins as federal prime minister in 1956. But few can agree on how it should be changed. There have been reports from constitutional commissioners, rejoinders from economists, four different conferences in London. It is all conflicting and confusing: one's own view depends on whether or not one believes the federal association has brought economic benefits to all the territories and has helped to liberalize the racial policies of Southern Rhodesia. The British government believes both these things have happened. Nyasaland receives an annual sum of about eleven million dollars from the federal government to help development; this has mostly gone into postal services, roads, and health services because these are federal functions. But the Nyasaland territorial government (which is still under the British Colonial Office) has been able to treble its expenditure on African education, for example, because it no longer has to build major roads, hospitals, post offices, and so on. Northern Rhodesia, it is argued, has contributed most to federal funds but has gained the advantage of a federal "cushion" to fall back on. When, in 1957-58, copper prices slumped, the economy was sustained in large part by Southern Rhodesia's tobacco and secondary manufacturing industries. Southern Rhodesia has gained enormously from federation; its capital, Salisbury, has been Africa's boom city. The federal association has also attracted great overseas investment, making possible, for instance, the 230 million dollar Kariba hydroelectric project.

Federation has also changed racial outlooks in Southern Rhodesia, its proponents claim. The color bar has been removed in the civil service, in trade unions, in some hotels. Pass laws, under which Africans must carry a pocketful of identification cards, have been relaxed. A new course has been set, even if the boat has not sailed very far yet. These are arguments which Macmillan's government acknowledges, while urging the Southern Rhodesian government to crowd on more sail.

African leaders dismiss these arguments utterly. The so-called reforms mean little or nothing in practice, they say. The races may be integrated in the civil service and trade unions, but whites have made rules to ensure they remain in command. The bulk of federal loan funds were sunk in Kariba, on the border between Northern and Southern Rhodesia, while Nyasaland's Nkula Falls power scheme is pigeonholed and its main towns have water for only seven hours a day. African agriculture has been sacrificed to the development of European secondary industry, and the economy has become unbalanced, since African farmers who could provide the base of a broad cash economy have been left to grow subsistence crops. Oxford economists have written books illustrating, with the examples of Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the theory that, when two countries of different stages of development are linked, the more developed will prosper still more, and the other lag even farther behind. "Partnership" has become for Africans a word to use with bitter scorn.

It was this feeling of injustice that led the tough but kindly Nyasas to call Dr. Hastings Banda back from forty years abroad, years which began with philosophy courses at the University of Chicago and ended with a medical practice in Britain and Ghana. Banda was recalled for a single purpose: to destroy the Federation and bring Nyasaland to self-government. Time was short: Britain seemed to have agreed with Welensky to give the Federation full independence as a dominion at the federal constitutional review conference, which he persuaded Britain to hold at the earliest possible date—1960.

Banda and Nyasaland swiftly wrecked Welensky's plans. Eight months after Banda's return, Nyasas rose in revolt, and fifty were shot dead by troops. The revolt had been almost spontaneous and remarkably non-violent, despite the wild stories of a "massacre plot" to kill all Europeans and Asians. Britain sent out a commission of inquiry led by a judge, Justice Devlin, whose profoundly sympathetic report is probably one of the most important documents in colonial archives. The British learned for the first time of the intense and universal hatred felt by Africans for Federation. Although more than a thousand Nyasas were detained in prisons and camps for several months, and the Devlin report was shamefully brushed aside while Macmillan was winning 1959's general election, his new colonial secretary, Lain Macleod, set about to rescue the situation at the beginning of 1960.

Macleod flew to Rhodesia to take personal responsibility for any trouble which might follow Banda's release from prison in April; Welensky had predicted there would be riots. Instead, Nyasaland was suffused with joy. I covered Macleod's trip, and the way the surly stares on Thursday turned to gay waves on Friday was wonderful to see. Four months later, Macleod managed to get agreement on a new constitution for Nyasaland, giving the Nyasas a majority in their legislature over the British officials and the representatives of the few white settlers.

Britain has followed the same policy with her other protectorate, Northern Rhodesia. The disturbances there have been less severe, not through lack of nationalist spirit among Africans, but through the emphasis on Gandhian non-violence by their leader Kenneth Kaunda. However, the problems of change are somewhat greater, since the white population is eight times as large—about 65,000—as that of Nyasaland, and many are tough-minded South Africans drawn to the Copperbelt. Nevertheless, it seems clear that Britain intends to give Northern Rhodesian Africans a majority in their territorial legislature this year, one step short of self-government.

The odd country out is, of course, Southern Rhodesia. Only about 3,000 Africans are voters on a roll of 70,000, and nearly half the electorate comprise white artisans who fear their jobs will be taken by Africans

unless Europeans remain in political control. The white politicians put it another way. They say, "Government must remain in the hands of civilized and responsible people." In February, 1958, some 500 Africans were arrested on the orders of the premier, Sir Edgar Whitehead, who said frankly: "It is a very ancient tradition of the British people that governments should defer action against subversive movements until actual rioting or bloodshed has occurred. My government does not subscribe to that tradition." None of the 500 was ever brought to trial to prove his charges of subversion; nearly two years later forty-three were still in prison or restricted in remote areas.

Whitehead, an economist-farmer isolated by deafness, poor sight, and bachelorhood from many of the realities of Southern Rhodesian life, has followed a policy of timid reform coupled with almost vicious repression of African political movements. Under his rule, the Southern Rhodesian government has passed a series of detention, public order, and security acts which are as restrictive of individual freedom as any in the non-Communist world. Having done so, Whitehead has blandly demanded that Britain surrender her few remaining "reserved powers" over the Southern Rhodesian constitution, offering in exchange to allow three or four Africans to enter his fifty-man parliament.

What was Britain to do about the whole situation, particularly about Southern Rhodesia, where race relations last year deteriorated into spasmodic rioting in which, according to official figures, seventeen have been killed? (Africans claim one hundred have died.) The African answer is simple: Suspend the constitution and impose a "democratic order." The answer of Whitehead and Welensky, who both belong to the same party though in different spheres, is equally simple: Leave us to run our own affairs, for we know the pace at which our countries can change. Meanwhile they have begun to recruit two battalions of regular European troops for internal security duty, and the cost of this is to be deducted from social services.

Britain's answer was typical of Macmillan, who knows better than to rush bull-headed at problems and equally knows that this kind of problem does not get better of its own accord if you just look the other way. He set up an advisory commission under Lord Monckton, whose reputation as a "fixer" when he was Minister of Labor was supreme. The task of the Monckton Commission was, according to Macmillan, "to advise how the Federation may best go forward." The Monckton Commission, although unsupported by Labor and Liberal party leaders who disliked its narrow terms of reference, and boycotted by the African parties, produced a report recommending that many federal powers be returned to the territorial legislatures, in which Africans should be given far greater representation. However, because it considered a federal structure necessary "to regulate and control the economy," the Commission (on which there was a powerful group of representatives of the Federal and Southern Rhodesian governments) also recommended retaining the federal assembly, but with the knife-edge compromise of racial parity in membership. A remarkable feature of the Monckton Report was the way Lord Monckton had persuaded the Rhodesian representatives to depart so far from traditional attitudes.

The Monckton Report was planned by Macmillan to be the key document for the federal review conference which began in London in December, the blueprint for the next stage of the Federation's life. But African nationalist leaders rejected the Report, because it wished to retain a political form of federation, and they followed this up by walking out of the conference. Welensky himself rejected a most important

READ THE HEADLINES

— keep up with the news in your daily newspaper.

But go behind the headlines, find the meaning and significance of the news each month in

The Progressive

Enter or renew your subscription now!

one year $5
two years $9
three years $12

—

new subscribers
6 months $2

Enclosed $..... Enter ☐ a new subscription
Renew for ☐ one year ☐ two years ☐ three years
Name.....
Address.....
City..... Zone..... State.....
The Progressive Madison, Wisconsin

recommendation of the Commission: that the territories should have the right of secession under certain circumstances; he argued that the subject of secession was outside their terms of reference. As a result, the Monckton Report had scarcely been mentioned during the two weeks of federal talks, before they were adjourned.

Early in these talks the British government recognized that the African leaders were interested only in discussing the alteration of their territorial constitutions so that the parliaments might become more representative of the people and the pace of economic and social reforms might be dictated by Africans, rather than left to the whim of Europeans. Macmillan and his ministers skillfully altered the order of priorities, and put both Whitehead and Welensky on the defensive. Instead of considering Welensky's claims for a higher status for the Federation, and Whitehead's demands that Britain cede her "reserved powers," Britain has got Whitehead to sit down to a conference reviewing the whole of Southern Rhodesia's constitution, which is tantamount to considering how Africans may play a larger part in government; and it has got Welensky to postpone resumption of the federal talks "until progress has been made" in the talks about the territorial constitutions.

So far so good. It is good also that Banda, who looked on his task of excising Nyasaland from the Federation more as a surgeon than a politician, and has sometimes shown himself an inept negotiator, is out of the picture now, as far as talks are concerned. He returned to his country a week before Christmas, joyously exclaiming, "Federation is dead. It needs only a burial certificate and the undertaker." He is now busy preparing for territorial elections, which his Malawi Party is bound to win, and for the next more constructive stage of cooperation in government, having turned his back on the Rhodesias, at least temporarily.

Trouble will come instead from the white electorate of Southern Rhodesia, reacting against the changes which Britain may support for the territorial constitutions of the Rhodesias. A year ago Whitehead threatened that his government could not stomach being associated in a federation with two other governments dominated by "extreme black nationalists." Recently he has been quiet on this subject, because he realizes the terrible economic consequences to his country of the alternative, secession. But it is almost certain that most Southern Rhodesian whites will react bitterly against an African majority coming to power in Northern Rhodesia, even though their fellows in Northern Rhodesia have come to accept this as inevitable. If, in addition, they are asked to swallow radical alterations of their own constitution, they may rise like the Algerian *ultras*. The phrase "Boston Tea Party" is commonly heard in Salisbury. Welensky himself has said that, if the review talks failed, "then I personally would not be prepared to accept that Rhodesians have less guts than the American colonists."

The comparison is of course absurd. There is no chance of 200,000 Southern Rhodesian whites building a country like the United States in the Africa of 1961. If Southern Rhodesia seceded from the Federation, it would speedily fall under the sway of the Union of South Africa. Most Southern Rhodesian whites deny this and say, "it will just mean we'll have to pull in our belts for a couple of years." It will mean nothing of the sort, if Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland erect tariff barriers against Southern Rhodesia's secondary industry.

Macmillan clearly sees the risks of pushing the Southern Rhodesian government too fast, for there is a great danger that it might be swept by the emotions of its electorate into disastrous secession. On the other hand, the African leaders are impatient for results, and are not prepared to engage in months of talks. Britain's tactics in the talks, which resumed in January in Salisbury, are to bring home to the white delegates, and to the white electorate behind them, the fact that there is no alternative to a much more liberal constitution if racial turmoil is to be avoided.

Britain wants to keep the three territories together as an economic unit, and the Africans are agreeable to this as long as there is not a white-dominated federal government controlling the economy and perpetuating the enormous differences of income between white and black. They would be prepared to accept a loose structure for economic cooperation, similar to the East Africa High Commission which links Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika; alternatively, an African majority in the Federal Assembly would be to their liking. But Welensky is most unlikely to accept either. In his youth he used to challenge all comers to street corner boxing bouts for a sixpenny prize; it would be remarkable if he were to step into oblivion in his early fifties from the high office to which he has climbed. And as long as he fights for the present sort of composition and powers of the Federal government, his strong following of white voters will battle with him.

From being what Oliver Lyttleton called "a great experiment in partnership," the Federation has become—after the cold war and disarmament—Britain's toughest problem. Yet, as every American knows, if ignorance of, and prejudice against, other races could be swept away, the problem would dissolve swiftly. There are among the African nationalist leaders many fine men dedicated to the good of their country and all its inhabitants. Possibly Tanganyika will play a large part in saving Central Africa: its twinkle-eyed chief minister, Julius Nyerere, has already shown many whites in Africa that there is little reason to fear the future, and that it is frequently wise for white men as well as black men to swim with the tide.

THE PRISONER

by MURRAY KEMPTON

IT WOULD BE strange if there were sentient persons still who did not know of Willard Uphaus, who, hardly a year ago, was an obscure, slightly cranky pacifist, at large in New Hampshire, a corner of the United States as removed as Death Valley used to be.

But, even so, there are always exceptions and for them, be the business done as succinctly as possible:

In 1955, Willard Uphaus was summoned by Attorney-General Louis Wyman who, as his state's investigator of subversive influences, had concentrated on World Fellowship, a summer camp near Concord, of which Dr. Uphaus was director. Wyman demanded a list of World Fellowship's guests. Dr. Uphaus answered that he would talk about himself as long as the Attorney-General wished, but he would give him no list. To do this, he said, "would be to bear false witness against my brother."

The Attorney-General replied, in the flat terms practical men use to predict the future, that Uphaus would deliver when the chips were down. But Willard Uphaus refused to deliver. He went to the United States Supreme Court and was rebuffed by a five to four majority to which Justice Black gave this majestic dissent:

"My guess is that history will look with no more favor upon the imprisonment of Willard Uphaus than it has upon that of [John] Bunyan or the many others like him."

Willard Uphaus is now a part of that history. In December, 1959, he went to the New Hampshire House of Correction to serve an indefinite term for affronting Attorney-General Wyman; after 355 days, the State having grown weary of this stubborn old man, he was set loose.

Such is the history up to now. The rest is what Willard Uphaus learned, felt, and remembered during that year when he was being changed into a monument to history.

He remembers the House of Correction as a wise and ancient bird might remember his cage.

"I would walk the catwalk from my cell to the window all day," he said. "I figured that with sixty-six round trips I did a mile.

"But this is not walking. Walking is seeing things. It is climbing a fence or stumbling into a ditch. Here you would be taking a few steps and you were hitting the wall. I suppose it is so that we can learn the difference and so that we will remember it every time we hit the wall that they put men in prison."

A faculty member at the University of Pennsylvania wrote to him and asked his permission to gather together a group of persons each of whom would offer himself to the State Supreme Court to serve one month in prison in Uphaus' place.

Willard Uphaus, who rejected every blandishment to come out, accepted this one with pride and gratitude. It fitted an idea with which he had become more intimate than ever before in his seventy years—the idea of shared experience. Nothing seems to have come of the offer; there is, of course, no reason to know what the judge would have thought of the proposal if anything had.

MURRAY KEMPTON, columnist for the New York Post, recently spent several hours with Willard Uphaus.

"I have come," Uphaus said, "as I never had before, to think of the place of the body. You could lock up the Bill of Rights and it would make very little difference. But people can see and feel the suffering body.

"You could not," he went on, "get to the window near my cell. Sometimes you could stand on the bars and look out. But the bottom was opaque and the top was dirty. My roommate gave me a broom handle to get it open. I asked them why they kept it that way, and they said it was for our privacy."

"And yet never before in all my life have I had quite such a sense of the seasons coming and going. I was only half aware that four inches of snow had fallen and yet, when May came, and I knew that eighty miles away the camp was beginning to open, I was tempted. It was right in the summer and I wanted so much to go out I almost said, 'Good God, this is enough.'"

The longest night of all for him was a cold and rainy one last October when a group of his friends came up for a twenty-four-hour vigil outside the prison. The superintendent locked the prisoners in their cells for all that period—fearing a disturbance—and, as the night went on, Willard Uphaus's prison companions commenced to growl and cry out at him.

"I began to feel terribly how much they were paying the price with me, being locked up for twenty-four hours. One of them said hopefully that, now that it was raining so hard, maybe my friends would go away, and a Negro prisoner said, 'Don't expect that; they're gonna stay.'

"One of the men below shouted at me: 'You could walk out tomorrow if you wanted to.'

"And some more of them were saying the same thing when another man said: 'Don't you understand? He's not like us. He's a political prisoner.'

"Afterwards my friends were thoughtful enough to call over the loud speaker and thank the prisoners for the price they had paid. Then it was over and they let us out and we had a coffee break and the bitterness dissolved."

At first he had known very little

about the other prisoners and they had cared very little about him because he was strange and odd and they were patriotic citizens of New Hampshire not easily convinced that their Attorney-General would engage himself on an errand other than of simple justice.

And yet they were lonely, and, after awhile, as Willard Uphaus sat in his prison alone on the upper tier, the men below him—whom he could not see—put out mirrors so that he could see the pictures of their children and talk with them about their debts and the troubles which had brought them there. It was their loneliness that he remembers most.

The worst of times was the day the visitors were supposed to come.

"The expression was 'taking a shave.' They would take a shave and stand before the mirror and then nobody would come. There were so few of them with a criminal intent. They felt when they were free and they felt when they were in prison that nobody loved them. I used to think to myself, 'When you are without friends and without a lawyer, then God help you.'"

Willard Uphaus was different from them because he had friends. He always, on that one day a week, had too many visitors for his quota.

"And altogether," he said, "I got 3,700 letters." He used to set them around his cell, sorted according to state and nation of origin. "It looked," he remembers, "like a post office."

Yet one thinks of him alone in his cell and one thinks of Justice Black alone in his chambers, hope long past that anyone is listening, telling us how ashamed our children's children will be of us who put Black and Warren and Douglas in the minority and Uphaus in jail.

And yet those of us who are outside are bitter and Willard Uphaus who was in is not. He says that he is glad that he had not caved in and had not informed, but henceforth he says nothing which is smug and nothing which is vindictive.

"I often think that there must be something that I could do for Louis Wyman.

"For I am restless whenever there is anyone outside the Fellowship."

Restless he remains at seventy, restless and wondering what he can do with the years that remain of his life. It is not given to many of us, when we are old, to be offered the challenge that he was offered, and it is given to even fewer to accept it as bravely as Willard Uphaus did.

He seemed to me once—and I was wrong—before all this happened, an old bore who talked too much. He had gotten himself talked about as a Communist fellow-traveler; we spoke of his mistakes as a way of describing our own virtues. Now we can never do that again; for we are his debtors so long as we live. His grace stands proving us wrong.

The Lawson Case at Vanderbilt

Conflict on the Campus

by ERWIN KNOLL

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY has officially closed the books on the case of the Reverend James Morris Lawson, Jr.

The controversy which raged last spring and summer and threatened to tear apart one of the nation's most respected private universities has been resolved by a compromise offering everyone involved the opportunity to save face, while making no one very happy.

Vanderbilt's Chancellor Harvie Branscomb has said: "This matter is now closed and except for necessary details will not be further discussed."

Yet Lawson's expulsion and its aftermath is the number one topic of discussion among the students and faculty who returned in the fall to the red brick buildings set pleasantly among oak and magnolia trees on Vanderbilt's rambling campus in Nashville, Tennessee. There is reason to believe that the university may continue to pay for years, and perhaps decades, for a series of impulsive and emotional actions.

The dispute over Lawson, which involves the Negro "sit-in" movement and its more recent church "kneel-in" manifestation, raises important questions of religious conscience, academic freedom, and civil rights. A review of the conflict may serve to illustrate the kind of crisis likely to form a recurrent pattern in Southern and border areas in the years ahead.

Vanderbilt, founded in 1875, plays an important role in the local community. Its medical school provides much of the city's hospital care. Its divinity school, where the Lawson controversy was centered, furnishes ministers for many parishes in the area. Its liberal arts and professional school alumni constitute much of the business and professional leadership of the region. Its intellectual and cultural activities have helped give Nashville the proud title, "the Athens of the South."

Seven years ago, Vanderbilt became one of the first private universities in the South to admit Negro graduate students, though it stipulated that it would enroll only those who could not find comparable educational programs in Negro institutions in Nashville.

One of the Negro students at Vanderbilt was James Lawson, a personable and energetic thirty-two-year-old ordained Methodist minister from Massilon, Ohio. He had come to Nashville as a field representative of the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation, and had enrolled in the divinity school. Had all gone well, he would have received his bachelor of divinity degree last June.

Lawson's background included serv-

ERWIN KNOLL covers education news for the Washington Post and is Washington correspondent for the Southern School News.

ice as a missionary in India, where he studied the Gandhian techniques of passive resistance. It also included a prison sentence—later widely publicized by Nashville segregationists—for refusing, as a conscientious objector, to report for military service in 1948.

Unlike other Negro students at Vanderbilt, Lawson made a point of participating fully in university life. He played on the divinity school's intramural football team, ate in the general dining hall for students, and attended concerts given by the Nashville symphony orchestra.

While enrolled in the university, Lawson worked with the Nashville Christian Leadership Council, an affiliate of the Reverend Martin Luther King's Southern Leadership Council. When the sit-in movement to desegregate downtown lunch counters began, Lawson, drawing on experience as a missionary in India, offered instruction in passive resistance to some of his fellow students. Quite a few participated in the Nashville sit-ins, and the university took no action against them. But Lawson's case was another story.

Ironically, he himself never participated in a sit-in demonstration. Ironically, too, the Nashville sit-ins had been amicably settled by the time the Vanderbilt controversy reached fever pitch. Nashville's lunch counters now are cited as a model of desegregation.

But early this year, the atmosphere was tense. The sit-ins had produced some violence against the demonstrators, and more was threatened. At a public meeting late in February, Mayor Ben West called for an end to the demonstrations and said the law would be invoked against students who remained at lunch counters after being asked to leave. Lawson, who was present, declared: "The law has been used as a gimmick to keep the Negro in his place."

There are varying accounts of what else Lawson said, but some published reports quoted him calling for action in defiance of the law. In any event, Chancellor Branscomb, a distinguished educator who had been asked to remain after passing the retirement age of sixty-five last year, apparently felt that he faced an emergency, and one he could not handle alone. He called in the conservative businessmen who constitute the executive committee of the Vanderbilt Board of Trust—a move he later described privately as a mistake—and discussed the problem of the outspoken divinity student. Out of the meeting on March 2, came an ultimatum to Lawson: withdraw by nine the next morning or face expulsion.

Later that day, Lawson addressed a letter to the sixteen members of the divinity school faculty.

". . . As many of you know," he wrote, "my whole understanding of the Gospel involves me in seeking to be a minister of reconciliation, as effected in the gracious love of God in Christ.

"Under no circumstances have I ever made, or will I ever make, the categorical statement that students should violate the law. These are not my words. Defiant violation of the law is a contradiction of my entire understanding of and loyalty to Christian non-violence.

"When the Christian considers the concept of civil disobedience as an aspect of non-violence, it is only within the context of a law or a law enforcement agency which has in reality ceased to be the law, and then the Christian does so only in fear and trembling before God.

"Furthermore, the issue completely overlooked is that throughout the demonstrations . . . the students remained wholly loving and non-violent even though the violence directed against them was beyond anyone's imagination. . . .

"I am totally convinced that God has called me to this work. In good faith, then, and clear conscience, I ask you as Christian brethren to keep our bonds of love and understanding even when there is a lack of information. And I, on the other hand, will seek to remain faithful to these bonds in the same manner."

Lawson's nine o'clock deadline for withdrawal passed, and an hour later, at a convocation of the divine faculty and student body, Branscomb announced his expulsion. The chancellor issued this statement:

"There is no issue involved of freedom of thought, or of conscience, or of speech, or of the right of protest against social custom. The issue is whether or not the university can be identified with a continuing campaign of mass disobedience of law as a means of protest."

In an interview with the Nashville *Tennessean*, Branscomb stressed that the divinity student's actions, not his ideas, led to the expulsion order. The university, the chancellor said, "would have protected him in the expression of his ideas. Furthermore the action we took was not punitive. It was not based upon actions which had already been performed, but upon Mr. Lawson's commitment to continue his program of civil disobedience."

The only alternative to expulsion, Branscomb continued, "would have been to issue a statement saying the university does not agree with Mr. Lawson but that he continues in good standing and it's up to the police to deal with him if he violates the law." The chancellor gave three reasons for deciding against this course:

¶ "We apply our own regulations to all the rest of the students as to actions both on and off the campus, forbidding certain types of conduct which we punish whether the police arrest or not.

¶ "The same privilege of conducting a civil disobedience campaign would have to be given to all other students of the university, as well as faculty and staff members.

¶ "In an announced program of continuing civil disobedience in this inflammable area of race, I do not think the university would want to be responsible for consequences which might follow."

Lawson's expulsion left four Negro students at Vanderbilt—three divinity students and one graduate student in physics. Branscomb said the action against Lawson would not "in any way" affect Vanderbilt's policy toward admitting Negro students.

"The policy of admitting qualified Negro students to certain schools in the university is being continued without change," he declared. "We had no illusions when we initiated this program that it could be carried through without difficulties, but those difficulties have not led us to abolish it." He did not specify what difficulties, besides Lawson's role in the sit-ins, were involved.

Reaction to the expulsion order was swift and vehement. Lawson said Vanderbilt acted "unfairly" and "without regard for its responsible goal as a great university." He charged that Vanderbilt officials permitted "character assassination to become their guide as to whether a student remains a responsible member of the academic community, and they have equated a mature, disciplined, non-violent movement with a 'panty-raid.'"

Eleven members of the divinity school faculty protested the expulsion, saying they saw "no adequate justification." Disavowing any part in the university's action, they noted that Lawson "has been a respected student, and we continue to hold him in respect." Dean J. Robert Nelson of the divinity school, the leader in the faculty protest, announced that the five non-signers also "respect Lawson as a person and support him morally."

Lawson's fellow students in the divinity school issued a statement calling the expulsion "a grave error" and "a violation of Christian conscience," adding:

"We support the right of the Negro community to focus attention on unjust denials of their rights as American citizens, although some of us have reservations about timing and specific methods used in this case. We support them in this time of crisis through moral encouragement and financial assistance."

Some critics of the expulsion order contrasted it with Vanderbilt's official attitude toward English Professor Donald Davidson, who continued teaching while serving as president of the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, a militant segregationist organization. But Branscomb replied that the two cases were not comparable: a careful check of Davidson's activities had indicated that the professor always stopped short of advocating violation of the law.

The divinity faculty, led by Dean Nelson, at once began quiet negotiations with the Vanderbilt administration which, the professors hoped, would lead to Lawson's reinstatement. One plan was to have him apply for readmission to the summer session. Under the regulations, admission of a candidate is a prerogative of the faculty.

Meanwhile, the controversy remained very much alive. On March 22, some 150 divinity school alumni, in Nashville for the annual Cole Lecture Series and the dedication of a new million-dollar divinity school quadrangle, adopted a resolution requesting Lawson's reinstatement. At dedication ceremonies on the previous day, the alumni had heard sharp criticism of the expulsion from Dean Liston Pope of the Yale University divinity school. During the lecture series, three outstanding theologians had voiced similar views, and two had offered Lawson scholarships.

At month's end, swamped by telephone calls, letters, and telegrams, the university began distributing a statement signed by the chancellor. The Lawson case, it said, "involves simply the issue of how far and under what circumstances a student may announce publicly his intention to carry on an organized mass program of violation of the law, and ask the university to keep him in good standing and thus provide a base for his program."

As the debate continued, it developed that Lawson's support, while articulate, was not unanimous, or, at least among the students, even dominant. On May 5, Vanderbilt students voted 775 to 362 to withdraw from the National Student Association, which had expressed support for the sit-ins and dismay at Lawson's dismissal.

The Vanderbilt Board of Trust met May 21. The lunch counters had, by then, been quietly desegregated. Without specific reference to Lawson, the trustees routinely approved all actions taken by their executive committee in the previous six months—including the expulsion. Nine days later, Chancellor Branscomb overruled the divinity faculty and denied Lawson admission to the summer session. Dean Nelson and ten professors resigned.

Nelson, who submitted his resignation to the chancellor effective August 31, attributed it to "your flat refusal to grant the faculty of the divinity school the privilege of admitting Mr. Lawson for further study to earn his degree." He added:

"The destructive effect of your decision upon the confidence and morale of the divinity faculty and others in the university is clearly evident. Equally damaging is the effect upon numerous students. The future of the divinity school is now gravely imperiled. No one can predict how long it will take for the damage to be repaired. In spite of all the excellent things you have done to build up the school in recent years, the responsibility for this critical situation is your own. Only you, sir, could have restored integrity to this school by making right what had been done wrong."

The professors who resigned cited the failure of "three months of steady negotiations with the university administration," but deferred their resignations for a year "in accordance with accepted procedures and with due regard for the welfare of our students."

As messages of support and offers of employment poured in to the professors from divinity schools at Yale, Harvard, Princeton, and Southern Methodist University, among others, a number of students announced plans to leave the university and several graduates mailed their degrees back to Vanderbilt. The three remaining Negro students in the divinity school withdrew, charging that Lawson was expelled "at least partially on the basis of race." A university spokesman denied the charge.

"Mr. Lawson was not dismissed because he is a Negro, but in spite of it," he said.

On June 1, Lawson enrolled in the summer session of the Boston University theological school, where he would receive the bachelor of divinity

HOW TO PASS YOUR LAW
by ROBERT SATTER

single copy	10 cents
three copies	25 cents
twenty copies	$1

Reprint Department
The Progressive
Madison, Wisconsin

degree upon completing three courses.

The executive committee of the Vanderbilt Board of Trust, meeting June 3, accepted Dean Nelson's resignation and offered his post to Dean Walter J. Harrelson of the University of Chicago divinity school, who had previously agreed to come to Vanderbilt this fall as professor of Old Testament. Harrelson took the offer under advisement and announced that he would accept if Lawson were reinstated, Nelson retained as a full professor, and the others persuaded to remain on the faculty.

In the next few days there were persistent reports that at least twenty-five other members of the faculty were planning to resign—including the dean and several department heads at the important school of medicine and a substantial majority of the faculty in physics, chemistry, and political science. One professor told a reporter:

"There is absolutely no question that most of us will leave if this situation is not settled to the satisfaction of the divinity school faculty. This is not just a question of Lawson alone, although he is vital to it. But it is also a question of whether we have a university here or simply an institution that acts like one part of the time."

The Nashville *Banner*, the more conservative of the two local newspapers, declared editorially that Vanderbilt would be better off without faculty members who would choose to resign over the Lawson incident. But such community organizations as the United Church Women, the Nashville Community Relations Conference, and the Nashville Association of Churches urged settlement of the dispute on terms that would keep the professors at the university.

Four days after he was offered the deanship of the divinity school, Harrelson met with the chancellor and other administrators to decline the post and resign from the faculty. He said he had been "unable to assist in the settlement of the difficulties in the divinity school which have resulted from the university's dismissal of James M. Lawson, Jr."

At the first general meeting of the Vanderbilt faculty in thirty-seven years, the chancellor defended his action, denied that Lawson's race had been a factor in his dismissal, and recalled that more than thirty students who had joined the sit-in movement had not been disciplined in any way by the university.

"I do not believe the divinity school should be destroyed over one, single, complex issue," Branscomb said, and turned from his audience in tears. The trustees' executive committee promptly expressed full confidence in the chancellor and directed him to take whatever action he deemed necessary. His response was to accept the previously-deferred resignations of the ten divinity professors.

On June 9, with the medical faculty serving as intermediaries, a compromise plan was agreed to by Branscomb, Board Chairman Harold Vanderbilt, the divinity faculty, and Lawson. It would have brought the expelled divinity student back to Vanderbilt to take his examinations and receive his degree, and it would have wiped out the resignations of the divinity faculty, though Nelson would still be expected to leave. The plan was quickly rejected by the executive committee. Expressing "shock" at the committee's action, 161 Vanderbilt professors signed a petition asking the trustees to "resolve the crisis without delay."

A week later, acting for the first time entirely on his own initiative and without consulting the trustees, Branscomb settled the matter—at least to the extent that it is likely to be settled. After reviewing the arguments for Lawson's dismissal and citing the university's "unassailable record" in admitting Negro students, the chancellor declared:

"A campus-wide controversy draws into itself many other issues, becomes charged with emotion, obscures the original issues, and becomes a general controversy which does great harm to a university whose good will in this area has been demonstrated. It must be ended."

Branscomb spelled out these terms:

¶ Dean Nelson would be relieved of his duties at once.

¶ Lawson would be permitted to receive his degree on the basis of transfer credits from Boston University or examinations at Vanderbilt.

¶ All members of the divinity faculty but Nelson would be given ten days to rescind their resignations.

Nelson commented:

"Chancellor Branscomb's personal decision on the dispute over Mr. Lawson has been reached after dreadful loss to the reputation of the university and the morale of the faculty. The main concern of many of us at this moment is to restore that reputation and morale.

"Reputation can be built on the willingness and ability of the university to meet intellectual and social change in a creative rather than defensive manner. The spirit of the faculty depends on the restoration of confidence in the university as a place where complete freedom of responsible thought, expression, and action is secured.

"It is my earnest hope that conditions at Vanderbilt will soon be conducive to the renewal of the divinity school after this terrible setback. And I deeply regret that I can no longer be a part of this school."

Nelson released his colleagues on the faculty from any obligation they might feel toward him in the matter, and after some muttering about being made to "crawl," all but one of the divinity professors withdrew their resignations. They said their action "should not be interpreted as meaning that we accept Chancellor Branscomb's views on the issues in the Lawson case. Nor should our decision be understood as in any way approving the summary dismissal of Dean Nelson . . . which dismissal we consider to be unjust and ungracious."

The professors added that the divinity school "must continue to serve

CIVIL DEFENSE: BILLION DOLLAR BOONDOGGLE
by SENATOR STEPHEN YOUNG

single copy	10 cents
three copies	25 cents
twenty copies	$1

Reprint Department
The Progressive
Madison, Wisconsin

the church and to work realistically toward a solution of the crisis now besetting the South. This possibility has now been reopened by the university's invitation to Mr. Lawson to finish his courses and receive the bachelor of divinity degree."

In Boston, Lawson said that while he bore "no ill-will toward any member of the Vanderbilt community," he could not return to the university "under the terms of compromise reached at the expense of Dean Nelson."

And there the matter rests.

Nelson has been appointed guest professor of ecumenics at Princeton Theological Seminary. The new acting dean of the Vanderbilt divinity school is Herman A. Norton, professor of church history, one of four faculty members who did not follow Nelson's leadership in the protests and resignations. For much of the time when the Lawson controversy raged, Norton was away from the campus on chaplain's duty with the Tennessee National Guard.

The three Negro students who withdrew from the divinity school plan to return, feeling that they now can do so "with dignity and self-respect." Lawson himself has promised to reconsider his decision, but has made no move to apply for his degree from Vanderbilt. He says he hopes to return to Nashville as minister of a Methodist church.

Perhaps the only tangible gain from the dispute is that Vanderbilt now has, for the first time, a procedure for handling discipline cases. It includes trial by faculty members and provisions for appeal and review.

But the losses of the Lawson case will take long to recover. The morale of faculty and students, the prestige of Vanderbilt, and its financial well-being have been hurt. There are reports that several major grants which had been scheduled for this academic year have been withdrawn.

When the controversy was at its height, Everett Tilson, a former member of the divinity school faculty, said he saw Vanderbilt at the crossroads: "She must decide whether her destiny will be that of a serious institute of higher learning or a finishing school in Southern culture."

In the aftermath of the Lawson case, either road for Vanderbilt is likely to prove rocky.

the NEW NEGRO on screen

by MARTIN S. DWORKIN

This is the fifth and last of a series of articles by Mr. Dworkin on Negroes in the movies. Mr. Dworkin is a distinguished film critic whose articles and reviews have appeared widely in this country and abroad.—THE EDITORS.

IN THE FILMS of the 1950s, including several presenting Negroes only or chiefly, colored people appear together as lovers, husbands and wives, parents, and plain human beings—with both significant attempts at realism, and even more significant heroic exaggeration. Several films of the period carry the implications of equality even further, treating the color of the characters as either incidental, or as particular proof that the story being told has more than segregated meanings. According to this measure of significance, a modest little movie, *Bright Road* (1953), may mark another point of transformation of the imagery of Negroes on screen (see "State of the Cinema: *Bright Road*," in *The Progressive*, July 1953).

Made on a few studio sets with a small cast (with a single white actor), *Bright Road* moves, tentatively but definitely, as far from the best of the pre-war all-Negro films, *Hallelujah* (1929) and *The Green Pastures* (1936), as these had advanced from the comic-darky one-reelers of the nickelodeon era. Adapted by Emmett Lavery from the book, *See How They Run*, by Mary Elizabeth Vroman, the film tells a simple story of the regeneration of a "backward" schoolboy (Philip Hepburn), through the patience of a new teacher (Dorothy Dandridge). The plot is hardly novel—except for the fundamental irrelevance of the skin color of the characters. The matter of race is scarcely mentioned, but is emphatically present in the least detail. A scene in which a white doctor, with unostentatious courtesy, helps the colored teacher with her coat, is a little revolution in the iconography of cinema. There were more grounds for relief than for disappointment in the film's hesitation to pioneer beyond the mere hint of a conventional movie romance, between the pretty teacher and the handsome school principal (Harry Belafonte, in his first screen role). But there was momentous novelty in depicting Negro school children as children, and in observing a Negro family at Christmas dinner behaving as any poor but decent family may be supposed to behave.

The case of *Anna Lucasta* (1959) has special pertinence, as the original play had dealt with a Polish immigrant family, in dramatizing the hypocrisy and pathos of an attempt to marry a prostitute daughter into a life of respectability. (A movie version, with Paulette Goddard, was produced in 1949.) Author Philip Yordan had made two adaptations for a Negro cast, the later one adding much comedy and a happy ending, to become a success on Broadway in 1944, and a perennial of repertory

since. The sentimentalism of the story may have as much to do with its general appeal as has the applicability of the basic situation—attested to by productions in numerous languages, including Yiddish, Norwegian, Chinese, and Japanese. The arrival on screen of the all-Negro version of the play (with Eartha Kitt, Sammy Davis, Jr., Frederick O'Neal, and Rex Ingram), proved more anti-climactic than punctual. Where once the moralizing melodrama acted by Negroes had topical force, now the accepted irrelevance of color made the story all the more mawkish on screen. In any case, by the late 1950s the original point of playing white folks in blackface had been blunted, and the novelty of Negroes bungling and bickering in the manner of ordinary families had been worn down—partly, to be sure, in the long runs of *Anna Lucasta* itself on so many stages.

This success unquestionably prepared the way for better plays—and films—about Negro families, of which two first efforts by Negro writers, Louis Peterson's *Take A Giant Step,* and Lorraine Hansberry's *A Raisin In the Sun,* are the best. Again, it is the more than racial meanings in these works that give them their true force and validity—and attest to the depth of the continuing transformation of the image of the Negro in the popular imagination. The Peterson play, while treating the color problem with unique candor and penetration, does so precisely because its characters are firstly genuine—and also because it does not preach or offer easy diagnoses or remedies. In its broadest aspect, *Take a Giant Step* deals with the travail of adolescence as the perpetual reenactment of the struggle to be oneself and to belong among others. Particularly, it describes the special pain of a colored boy who finds there is no longer any place for him in the community of white boys with whom he grew up—in a middle-class neighborhood of a New England city — and the alienation he feels, as an outcast neither child nor man, within his family. The play clearly intends to say something about growing up and belonging in general from the particular instance of the life of one adolescent Negro. The key to this larger intention is the figure of a Jewish boy, in whom the young Negro eventually sees reflected his own anguish, recognizing that there are others who must struggle as he has done, to make the desperate, giant step towards maturity.

The play had a short, troubled Broadway run in 1953-54, was subsequently on tour, and had a successful "off Broadway" revival in 1957. In 1959, a movie version, directed by Philip Leacock, was made (with Johnny Nash, Estelle Hemsley, Frederick O'Neal, and Ruby Dee). A crucial reduction of the character of the Jewish boy considerably narrows the meanings of the movie. There remains, however, a sharp illumination of a particular phase of the Negro problem—and perhaps the most realistic and credible depiction of a Negro family so far in cinema. The conflicts here—between father and son, husband and mother-in-law—are to much more serious dramatic purpose than those in *Anna Lucasta.* And, in its own way, this real family may make more effective propaganda for the dignified representation of Negro family life than romantically ennobled households.

This may be true even with reference to one so attractive as that in *Edge of the City* (1957), a film which has made an especially favorable impression beyond the United States. Adapted by Robert Alan Aurthur from his television play, *A Man Is Ten Feet Tall,* and directed by Martin Ritt, this film is a melodrama of the growth to courageous responsibility of a decent but indecisive young man (John Cassavetes). Laid in a working-class district, *Edge of the City* presents the fundamental situation and denouement of innumerable "classic" Western movies, with the difference that the cowpokes are stevedores—and one, the one with the family who is unjustly killed and must be avenged, is a Negro. It is in the house of the Negro (Sidney Poitier) and his wife (Ruby Dee) that the footloose young man finds both physical and spiritual anchorage. It is on their life of affection and mutual respect that he presumably will pattern his own, when he marries the pretty school teacher (Kathleen Maguire), who has been waiting for him to settle down and become a man.

In an earlier film, *Go Man Go* (1951), celebrating the Harlem Globe Trotters basketball team, there was a scene of related intention. One of the players on the team (Sidney Poitier) comes to have dinner at the home of the Trotters' impresario, Abe Saperstein (Dane Clark). The latter's mother serves the meal with much clucking and motherly banter —marking another momentous triviality of movie etiquette. Turning the talk firmly to marriage and respectability, she elicits from the young Negro his plans to wed a girl with whom he had gone to school—and accomplishes her purpose in chiding her son: "Abe, why don't *you* find a *nice* girl?" Such portrayals of Negro family life and aspirations as vital and worthy enough to be models for white folks are striking transmutations of venerable cliches—and may be reflections of profound changes in the sociology of Negroes beyond the screen.

A sense of anachronism similar to that of *Anna Lucasta* has accompanied the most elaborate all-Negro film yet made, *Porgy and Bess* (1959) —albeit for other reasons. It is true that the opera by George and Ira Gershwin is rooted in the rhythms as well as in the attitudes of the era in which it was created. The story itself, based on the Du Bose Heyward novel, *Porgy,* is a retrospect of Negro life in Charleston around 1912. But the treatment is in the manner of the affectionate fictions of picturesque Negro life fashionable in the 1920s and 1930s—as Negro contributions to American culture and history were being at once tentatively and aggressively asserted, during what Alain Locke and others called "the Negro Renaissance." Many of the same imputations of condescension or unwitting disparagement that were leveled against *Hallelujah* and *The Green Pastures* have been made against *Porgy and Bess* since it first opened on Broadway in 1935. Of course, the indignations themselves recognize the affection and at least incipient respect for Negroes motivating all such efforts. But the criti-

cisms added heavily to the initial difficulties of a work conceived by its composer as grand opera, forced by show-business conventions into presentation as musical comedy—and received favorably by critics and panjandrums of drama, rather than music.

The separate songs of the score became popular favorites immediately. The opera itself has risen to American glory and international eminence since its revival in 1940—pruned of most of its sung recitatives and other operatic elements by Cheryl Crawford. This transformation has been of decisive importance in the development of the form of musical theater that so far is the most original and vigorous—if perhaps not the most desirably serious—American contribution to the arts of the stage. The success of *Porgy and Bess* on stage, however, may be a leading factor in the manner whereby it was brought to the screen—that has raised some of the old claims and counter-claims concerning racial disparagement, as well as new criticisms of content and technique.

In the huge Todd-AO screen format, the production by Samuel Goldwyn, directed by Otto Preminger, is massively static. The old problems of movie operas are exaggerated, as the vitality of the Negro performers (including Sidney Poitier, Dorothy Dandridge, Sammy Davis, Jr., and Pearl Bailey) is generally confined within elaborate theatrical settings. Except in one or two numbers, the gigantic images on screen overwhelm the magnificent music. The motionless magnitude and almost palpable detail conflict with the demands for stylized unrealism inherent in the conception. And as movies characteristically eliminate the physical distance from audience to performers, here, too, the distance in time essential to the work is largely lost or foreshortened. This *Porgy and Bess*, a climax of the representation of Negroes on screen, is a very modern work, and its wide-screened, Technicolored, stereophonically-sounded Negroes are not so easily accepted as simply genre characters—as intentionally unrealistic as, say, the Italian Egyptians of *Aida*, or the French Spaniards of *Carmen*. This is at base surely more a failure of cinematic imagination, however, than of any lingering racial disrespect. By 1959, the same forces that had worked to bring *Porgy and Bess* to the screen had made the latter the lesser likelihood.

There is an ironic significance in the miscasting of the handsome, robust, non-singing Sidney Poitier in the role of the homely, crippled Porgy (Robert McFerrin provides his dubbed-in voice, as Adele Addison does for Dorothy Dandridge as Bess). In the most practical terms of added box-office insurance, it testifies to his magnitude as a true star—that is so clear an evidence of change in popular conceptions of Negroes. Poitier is meant to be a star who does not appear in roles prepared to provide separate, but as nearly equal facilities as possible for Negroes making use of the public imagination. In the purviews of politics and market research, the bloc of Negro consumers may have grown to a certain strategic grandeur. But aside from the few and minor producers of occasional quickies for exclusively Negro audiences, movie industrialists have not been encouraged to purvey distinctively colored tickets entitling bearers to differently colored dreams in the theaters. The Negro stars beginning to scintillate on screen in the 1950s and 1960s are more than successful colored entertainers. They are becoming figures of vicarious association, for others besides the Negro members of audiences. This development, to be sure, is not unique to the screen, but is taking somewhat longer than in other areas of culture, popular or select.

In sports, music, and even public affairs the process of heroicizing Negroes is so advanced as to suggest that the new movie stars are its beneficiaries. The imagery of the Negro stars, as well as of Negro performers generally, follows upon the celebration in the popular imagination of such figures as Jesse Owens, Joe Louis, and Jackie Robinson; Marian Anderson, Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, and—for at least one decade—Paul Robeson; George Washington Carver and Ralph Bunche. It is revealing that a number of Negroes whose accomplishments lay outside the movies were subjects of biographical or panegyrical films before there were Negro movie heroes. The information agencies of the government, for example, produced in the 1950s a series of short documentaries dealing with such personages as Carver and Bunche, Booker T. Washington, Edith Sampson, Marian Anderson, and Louis Armstrong.

Far more consequential in this context, however, are some examples of the peculiar "Somebody Story" rituals wherein the movies attempt to create myths—and usually succeed in confecting fables. *The Jackie Robinson Story* (1951—with the athlete playing himself), and *The Joe Louis Story* (1953—with Coley Wallace), dramatized—and inevitably sugared—the careers of men who, perhaps more than any others in this century, personify the transformation of popular attitudes towards Negroes. *St. Louis Blues* (1958) memorialized composer W. C. Handy (Nat "King" Cole) with admirable respect but stupefying unrealism. In its course, it pointed emphatically to what has been the richest Negro contribution to popular culture: the music, ranging from spirituals and blues to jazz in innumerable forms and idioms.

Negro musicians have been essential figures in films since the introduction of sound—too often, to be sure, with mutilated dignity. Since the war, however, they have been represented with fervent veneration, as of the highest priesthood of the

The Progressive's

52nd Year

All twelve issues of The Progressive for 1960 are now available in a single handsome bound volume, with your name in gold on the cover. For reference or browsing, for yourself or for your public library. A complete index, by author and subject, is included.

608 pages **$5 postpaid**

Orders accepted until March 1, 1961

The Progressive

Madison, Wisconsin

people's most sacred liturgies—for example, in the main stream of the "Somebody Story" romances about real people, including *The Glenn Miller Story* (1954), *The Benny Goodman Story* (1956), *The Five Pennies* (1959)—with Danny Kaye as Red Nichols), and *The Gene Krupa Story* (1960). Most reverential of all have been numerous films, some of very serious, *avant-garde* pretensions, that have sought to fuse cinematography and jazz—beginning with Gjon Mili's *Jammin' the Blues* (1946), and reaching a culmination that is related to the pictorial treatment of jazz in the magazines of the 1950s, in Bert Stern's apotheosis of the Newport Festival, *Jazz On A Summer's Day* (1960). The integral involvement of Negroes in the most characteristic music of our era simply indicates their implication in the entire complex of popular culture. And who can say or predict with certainty what may be the consequences for race relations of the acceptance and more of Negroes as singers and heroes of the songs and fictions of our most intimate imaginings?

The images of Negroes in the movies since World War II have developed along parallel, crossing, and merging vectors of heightening realism and heroic exaltation. There are intricate, mysterious, but implacably real relationships between the rise of subservient classes and peoples in modern times and the evolution of the technological arts of popular entertainment. The new Negro imagery on screen signifies and substantiates a revolutionary metamorphosis of the popular imagination—as artists and entrepreneurs of this quintessential medium of our century seek to create what will be desired and appreciated. This interpretation, for which the testimony is so overwhelming, carries suggestions of awesome consequences. Here, in the mass of trivia and treasure on screen, may be better evidence than in archly orchestrated questionnaires—or even in continued prejudices and violences of bigots and Bourbons—that white people everywhere are preparing themselves for more than statutory equality of races. There is inexorable seeking, as well as transient fulfillment, in the fantasies projected on screen; as e.e. cummings prophesies, "deeds cannot dream what dreams can do."

THE PEOPLE'S FORUM

'Hitler in New York'

Dear Sirs:

While reading the article by David McReynolds, "Hitler in New York," in your December issue, I was obliged several times to look at the cover to make sure that I was reading *The Progressive*. It is amazing that a citizen of David McReynolds' background, and an organization with the history of the American Civil Liberties Union, should be in favor of allowing American Nazis the right to propagate the monstrous evil which destroyed normal life in the world for nearly six years and caused the death and mutilation of millions of men, women, and children as well as colossal destruction of property.

No man should have the legal right to advocate race hatred and genocide. To permit Rockwell and his sadistic followers to preach their evil doctrine is equivalent to allowing an outbreak of bubonic plague to spread after spotting the first case. McReynolds' suggestion that Jews, Negroes, and liberal-minded citizens should have formed a protective guard around Rockwell while he spread his murderous doctrine is the same as preventing doctors from taking action to prevent the spread of a dangerous epidemic.

McReynolds and the ACLU are carrying the principle of free speech to absurdity, as though the neo-Nazis were merely harmless crackpots. The reference to the freedom allowed to Communists misses the point. If Communists were to incite people to overthrow the government by violence, they would be arrested. The race hatred of the Nazis is in itself an incitement to murder, for Rockwell and his ilk are justifying all the horrible crimes against humanity perpetrated by Hitler and his Nazi followers.

A. C. Thorn
Montreal, Canada

Dear Sirs:

Your publication of David McReynolds' "Hitler in New York" shows *The Progressive* and progressivism at their fullest flower. It is so easy to let a gutter demagogue like George Rockwell trap us into betraying what is best in the American tradition. As Mr. McReynolds pointed out so well, to refuse this pint-size Hitler a chance to talk only attracts more attention to him and strengthens his following.

Shirley Salter
Evanston, Ill.

Dear Sirs:

David McReynolds has ably presented the official position of the ACLU in defense of free speech for even those who, by their appeal to bigotry, fear, and ignorance, arouse racial hatred and incite to violence.

In almost every mail I receive requests for financial aid to defend people whose civil rights have been endangered or violated. In many instances they had been advocates of peace, justice, brotherhood. Why should we, who believe as these do, spend a cent to defend those who spread hate and promote strife?

As long as there is not enough money to defend properly those who preach love, why should there be *any* to encourage those who would spew hate? Let the devil take care of his own. He has followers on this earth, even in this country, with plenty of money—some of it oil money!

Paul F. Albright
Hollydale, Calif.

Dear Sirs:

The position of the American Civil Liberties Union in the Rockwell case proves again how vigilantly it guards our civil liberties. Its stand is all the more admirable because it must have known that its defense of a two-penny demagogue's right to speak would be misunderstood and condemned by the sunshine liberals.

Ralph Nelson
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sirs:

David McReynolds admits that Rockwell "threatened to kill," and ordered his troopers "to silence" hecklers. He refers to Rockwell as a "mind so sick and perverted." Then he asks, "Would free speech lead to gas chambers for the Jews?" And he answers, "Clearly, no." Does Mr. McReynolds actually believe that a man who preaches "Kill thy neighbor," is merely exercising the right of free speech?

It seems to me that the ACLU has put itself in the ludicrous position of asking for contributions to defend the "civil liberties" of a person whose avowed purpose is to deprive others of their civil liberties and even of life itself. Whatever good there may be in the intentions of ACLU, its judgment is extremely bad; and in the delicate atmosphere in which it works the results can be very dangerous.

Jacob J. Leibson
Halcott Center, N.Y.

Dear Sirs:

David McReynolds' defense of Rockwell's right to advocate murder is a shocking variation from *The Progressive's* usual high standards of journalism. The question of whether Rockwell should be allowed to speak in Union Square or anywhere else cannot be

argued in a historical vacuum, as if Hitler had never been anything but a similar street-corner ranter, or Dachau merely an industrial town in Bavaria.

No issue of civil liberties is involved in suppressing Nazi activities in this country. The Nazi movement, which has manifested itself during the past few years in the desecration of synagogues, and in such outbursts as Rockwell's, should be handled like any other conspiracy to commit murder.

JOHN BOARDMAN
Syracuse, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

Where but in *The Progressive* could one find so deeply perceptive and boldly courageous an article as David McReynolds' "Hitler in New York"? Too many languid liberals today seem not to know that progressive democracy, in its finest form, must always provide a forum for the opinion we hate.

JACOB WURTZ
Seattle, Wash.

Dear Sirs.

As a corollary to the reasoning of David McReynolds, we should do away with all laws against the use and sale of narcotics, because they interfere with the freedom of the "pursuit of happiness."

In these distressing times when the number of mentally ill is increasing at an alarming rate, the preaching of hate may have disastrous consequences.

BENJAMIN M. FREEMAN
Hartford, Conn.

Dear Sirs:

Apparently David McReynolds has not learned the "fact of life" that to incite people to hatred of his fellowman is not an exercise of "freedom of speech" but an abuse of it, with sad historical consequences.

If the Social-Democrats of the Weimar Republic of Germany had not been so tolerant of *their* Rockwell, Hitler, before he started assassinating his opponents, the "facts of history" would have been different. Not only would six million Jews have been saved from extermination, but millions of others as well, including the Germans slaughtered on the battlefields.

J. J. WARATT
Merrick, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

"Hitler in New York" by David McReynolds demonstrates, if demonstrations were needed, that *The Progressive* is holding firmly to the great tradition that distinguishes it from all other publications. Short of clear and present danger, which this Rockwell boob is not, there can be no justification for denial of free speech in a democracy like ours.

PAUL STEIN
Alexandria, Va.

Dear Sirs:

The article on Rockwell by David McReynolds is as incomprehensible as it is inconceivable. He would allow "free speech" to a preacher of gas chambers and poisoning, to an advocate of Eichmann's theories and practices, to a rekindler of Heinrich Himmler, Goebbels, and Hitler.

McReynolds is full of wishful thinking. He chooses to forget that the Nazi movement in the early Twenties was also minimized, that Hitler was imprisoned and later ignored, that his following was infinitesimal in comparison to the votes required to capture Reichstag delegates. Had Hitler and his cohorts been "mobbed," so to speak, and actually killed in the early Twenties, would not the world be better off, despite the lack of "civil liberty" spirit in the mobbers?

Anybody who fights for Rockwell's civil liberties is himself suborning murder and the gas chamber.

FRED FELD
Newark, N. J.

Dear Sirs:

I was glad to see David McReynolds' much-needed article on "Hitler in New York." He is right, unfortunately, in suggesting that too often there is no greater intolerance than that of the ardent liberal. Many advocates of free speech would have muzzled McCarthy if they could. Many fighters for justice for Negroes would like to deny the rights of white Southerners.

We need constantly to remind ourselves that freedom is indivisible; unless it exists for all, it is safe for none. To fight for our own rights is, indeed, worthy, but it must by the nature of the case involve a certain amount of self-seeking.

It is only when we grant the rights of those with whom we disagree that we really show our devotion to the cause of freedom. Fortunately there are those, like McReynolds and the ACLU, who do not temper their zeal for liberty by considerations of the individual's political views, popularity, liberality, or past criminal record.

WALTER W. HAINES
Pomona, N.Y.

GUILT BY SUBPOENA

by PATRICK MURPHY MALIN

single copy	10 cents
three copies	25 cents
twenty copies	$1

Reprint Department
The Progressive
Madison, Wisconsin

The Community of Fear

Dear Sirs:

Senator Young's December issue article leaves the impression of a bumbling civil defense that need not be taken seriously except as a big waste of money. However, as Harrison Brown's and James Real's *The Community of Fear* demonstrates, the deadly importance of civil defense should not be underestimated. Boosted as a deterrent to war, non-military defense may well be the main cause of war.

The nation as a whole may go underground, as described in *The Community of Fear*, but this will take time and preparation and cooperation from the public. Instead, it may be calculated that when a required percentage of the population and supplies are truly protected, and the rest of the people are duped into thinking they are among the protected, then brinkmanship can be practiced, and pre-emptive war, a euphemism for preventive war, can be waged.

For twenty or forty or sixty per cent of a nation's people to die willingly and knowingly for whatever they consider to be their national purpose is one thing; for that number to be duped, and to think they are protected by Conelrad and civil defense, and then support moves toward a war in which they are written off as necessary losses by the war games experts is quite another.

PAT MILLER
Los Altos, Calif.

Dear Sirs:

In introducing a review of *The Community of Fear* (Notes in the News, December, 1960) *The Progressive* says war may be thinkable—to some people.

Confirmation comes from an editorial in the Cedar Rapids *Gazette*, December 6, 1960, entitled "Greater of Two Evils":

"Communists evidently would have us believe that the policy of peaceful co-existence has won out over the policy of revolution by war. Red China's president, we are told, said as much in a speech in Russia interpreted for us as indicating ratification by the Communist summit conference of the Soviet policy Chairman Khrushchev is peddling.

"It is hard to say which policy is worse, from the Free World's standpoint . . .

"What makes the peaceful co-existence policy more dangerous to the West than the outright bellicosity of the Red Chinese is the danger that it will lull the Free World into a false sense of security and cause us to lower our guard . . ."

I can assure you this editorial was not written with tongue in cheek.

WALTER GORMLY
Mt. Vernon, Ia.

Dear Sirs:

Your discussion of Harrison Brown's and James Real's *The Community of Fear*, in the December "Notes in the News," is by and large well done. I would have slipped through that discussion and on to the next had you not brought me up short with this remark:

> "In the face of this fantastic destructive power, there is a growing drive, particularly among military men, and notably on the part of The Rand Corporation's Herman Kahn, to create a psychology which would accept the idea that a large scale nuclear war was a distinct possibility, but that the nation could survive and rebuild itself on the ashes of seventy-five to a hundred million dead, and an utterly devastated landscape."

Let me assert that neither Brown nor Kahn require either support or clarification by me. I observe further that there is a considerable section of American liberal opinion which seems to prefer certainty and a vision of complete disaster, of final cataclysm, of unrelieved horror, to one far less severe and not at all certain. I will not say you misunderstand

Brown, but I think the following quotation will demonstrate that you really misunderstand Kahn. The quotation is from the dust jacket of Herman Kahn's book *On Thermonuclear War:*

"I have listened to Mr. Kahn's lectures on two separate occasions, the second time at my own request. I have very carefully read Kahn's book. The lectures and the book have done more to stimulate constructive thought on my part than anything that has happened since the end of World War II. I urge all persons to read it and particularly those who are involved in the formulation of policy at the national level and who are responsible for the transformation of that policy into action.

"Although I realize that many persons will not agree with Kahn's thesis, I urge that they read what he has to say before they pass judgment.

"This book will influence history more than any which I have read in the last twenty years."

The author of this comment: Harrison S. Brown.

AMROM H. KATZ
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Sirs:

No doubt you know that Dr. Herman Kahn is traveling widely on a speech-making tour sponsored by the General Electric Company, the Rand Corporation, and other institutions and organizations.

Dr. Kahn says he has "a duty to change the atmosphere toward greater receptivity of the idea of nuclear war." He says he does not favor nuclear war but "wants people to be more level-headed about its appropriateness and aptness in some circumstances. . . . It won't be as bad as it is pictured by some, *if* it occurs in the next three years, but after that time the progress of technology may create a much bigger and worse war. . . . Nonetheless we must learn to tolerate the idea."

Dr. Kahn says he would not presume, because of his ignorance and incompetence, to describe the aims of the United States, nor would he presume to decide what the failure to achieve these aims would result in. He says he is a strategist and this is not his business.

Dr. Kahn made this joke: "It is possible, isn't it, that parents will learn to love two headed children twice as much?" He is very detached and ironic in discussing twenty to sixty million deaths in nuclear war.

EUNICE B. ARMSTRONG
Scarborough-on-Hudson, N.Y.

Protest Civil Defense

Dear Sirs:

One of the most timely and helpful of the many services *The Progressive* has rendered in recent years was the publication of Senator Young's blistering article, "Civil Defense: Billion Dollar Boondogle," in your December issue. I hope the reprints will sell by the hundreds of thousands.

May I through your columns suggest to peace-minded individuals and to organizations working in the field of peace that they make protests against current civil defense programs a major part of their activity this year? There are a number of reasons why this is important and strategically sound.

1. Defense Department spokesmen and the scientists who are the braintrusters for the Department are entirely frank in disclosing that a civil defense program is an integral

THE CALIFORNIAN

Now in 2nd year of publication

NAZIS IN WEST GERMANY'S GOVERNMENT TODAY

by Friedrich W. Jaeger

This article, by a West German author, is more than just documented evidence of past Nazi activities of the men in Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's cabinet. It is documented evidence that their public pronouncements and activities TODAY are of the identical type that led to the rise of Nazism and Hitler. For those who depend on the daily press for information, the article will come as somewhat of an eye-opener. So will the list of leading Nazis in top government and military positions, and the other articles in the Jan. 1961 issue:

A FASCIST VIEW OF THE EICHMANN CASE—This article, by Jack Edmund Nolan, is an analysis of Germany's leading news magazine, Der Spiegel. The analysis concentrates on Der Spiegel's coverage of the Eichmann case. It is a scholarly, yet frightening, expose of the nature of one important segment of the German press today.

THE NAZIS' GROWING POWER—The re-emergence of leading Nazi bankers and industrialists in positions of economic control of West Germany today, and some reasons why West Germany now holds more U.S. gold and short-term dollars than any other foreign country in the world.

DWIGHT EISENHOWER SPEAKS!—These verbatim quotations from Eisenhower press conferences are both hilarious and depressing. They are revelations because they have rarely, if ever, been printed.

The January issue is yours FREE with a subscription.

Name .....
Street .....
City ..... Zone ..... State .....

$3 FOR ONE YEAR **$5 FOR TWO YEARS**

The Californian, 744 Duncan St., San Francisco 14, Calif.

(Free sample copies will NOT be sent.)

part of cold-war strategy and of the policy of "deterrence" by massive retaliation. Herman Kahn advocates a shelter program since with it the government will have more *will* actually to use nuclear weapons. Let the people accept the proposed crash shelter building program and to a large extent, as Harrison Brown has pointed out, the idea that war in the nuclear age is obsolete—cannot and must not happen—will be undermined.

2. Experience has shown that civil defense protest is a cause in which popular support can be enlisted. There is an immense amount of suspicion about the whole business in people's minds.

3. This is a cause which lends itself to large scale demonstrations, but also one about which virtually anybody from teenager up can do something in his own state legislature, community, school.

The Civil Defense Protest Committee in New York City which sparked the mass demonstration in City Hall Park in connection with Operation Alert last May continues to function at Room 825, 5 Beekman Street, New York 38, New York. It may be in a position to be helpful to inquirers. However, the main purpose of this letter is to stir people and organizations to think and act largely on their own without waiting for stimulation or directives.

A. J. Muste
Acting Secretary
The Fellowship of
Reconciliation
New York, N.Y.

Civil Defense and Peace

Dear Sirs:

Senator Young is correct in saying in the December *Progressive* that a peaceful solution to the world's problems is the only permanent shelter. But nuclear war may come by accident before we have solved many problems.

In *Fallout*, edited by John M. Fowler, Congressman Chet Holifield writes, "As unpleasant as the civil defense chore may seem, its purpose is basically to preserve the peace." After the articles by Governor Meyner and Senator Young in *The Progressive*, an article by Holifield seems in order.

Many people have built fallout shelters, but they fear public ridicule if they talk about them. Civil defense is at present schizophrenic, and it may be graft-ridden, because it has been boycotted by commonsensical people.

Public fallout shelters are the democratic solution to defense, but because they are not forthcoming, I will build my own.

Patrick J. Doyle
Riverside, Calif.

Young's 'Half-Truths'

Dear Sirs:

With reference to Senator Stephen Young's article on civil defense in your December issue, please recall the position of many who called themselves "progressives" in 1935-40, and opposed the rearmament of the United States, the fortification of Guam, and similar measures. It is reasonably apparent they exposed the country and some of our citizens to great dangers, without in any way increasing the likelihood of peace.

The absence of an effective shelter program may well mean the extermination of the United States and of a high proportion of its citizens; whereas a considerable body of scientific testimony suggests that the country could survive and recover if it had an adequate shelter program.

Senator Young is dreadfully right on some of his details; a good many civil defense programs have been badly planned, there has been some deliberate waste and much confusion, but in large measure this has resulted from an absence of national leadership, and because without direction state governments have often treated civil defense as a patronage agency.

The least *The Progressive* could do in carrying Senator Young's farrago of half-truths and misrepresentations would be to carry a corresponding article by a student of passive defense and modern war to demonstrate the suicidal triviality and irrelevance to major national policy of most of what Young says.

Lewis A. Dexter
Belmont, Mass.

Too Late for War

Dear Sirs:

Congratulations to Senator Stephen Young and *The Progressive* for bringing to the attension of the public the hypocrisy of civil defense.

This government was founded on the principle that men, given free speech and a free press, could govern themselves. War is a denial of those principles, for war is always accompanied by secrecy, fear, prejudice, misinformation, and unreason.

After August 7, 1945, it was too late to prepare for any war. The best informed scientists knew it, but their warnings were disregarded, not understood.

Enlighten the people, for only the people can change the course of history.

Vera Moore Squires
Biloxi, Miss.

Victory for MCD

Dear Sirs:

Readers of Marvin Weisbord's excellent article on Deerfield in the January *Progressive* will be interested to know that the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals has now reversed Judge Perry's decision on all three counts and sent the historic struggle back to him for a trial of our $750,000 damage claim on the merits. The court, as I understand it, instructed Judge Perry to grant our request for an injunction to prevent state condemnation of our two Deerfield sites if the testimony in the trial supported our case. Judge Perry's contention that MCD and its subsidiary, Progress, came into court with unclean hands because we would not sell all our houses to whites or all to Negroes, was thrown out, as was his contention that MCD was an unregistered investment company.

It will be curious to see what the white citizens councils of Jackson, Mississippi, which have repeatedly backed MCD's opposition in Deerfield, will say about the decision—and to see what Harold Lewis, Bible-quoting segregationist leader of Deerfield, will do now.

The case is also pending in the state courts, where condemnation took place.

We are happy to report that the January article on Deerfield in *The Progressive*, along with news of the court victory, has been reprinted as a public service by Turnpike Press, Annandale, Virginia. Single copies are free; quantities are available at nominal prices.

Morris Milgram
President
Modern Community Developers
84 Nassau St.
Princeton, N. J.

Heart of Cuba's Case

Dear Sirs:

Robert Alexander's January review of C. Wright Mills' *Listen, Yankee*, however interesting, has not got to the heart of the book. As I see it, it is this:

1. The world's hungry peoples will be hungry no longer. Most Latin Americans are hungry people.

2. They are initiating rapid changes by a variety of revolutions.

3. The behavior of the overdeveloped societies toward these revolutions will make a big difference in the kind of emerging new societies, especially in the liberties which the average man will enjoy.

4. To deny these revolutions, or to oppose their major goals, will be politically catastrophic for the overdeveloped societies, and a tragedy for liberty everywhere.

5. America's Open Door policy in this century has worked to quarantine or crush revolution, and has failed to produce the needed development among the hungry peoples. Cuba is an excellent case in point.

6. Therefore, America must change its behavior drastically and soon.

7. This should be the Great Debate in America, but it has hardly begun.

Mills is aware of difficulties, nor does he slight the passion of Cuban people for freedom. ". . . I am for the Cuban revolution. I do not worry about, I worry for it and with it . . . It might harden into any one of several kinds of dictatorial tyranny. But I do not believe that this is at all inevitable in Cuba. And I do believe that should it happen it would be due, in very large part, to the role of government of the United States has been and is continuing to play in Cuban affairs."

What must we do? Mills has a program. What *would* Mr. Alexander have us do?

William Paul Livant
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Praises Mosse Review

Dear Sirs:

Along with some gift subscriptions I feel I must comment on the excellent review by Professor George L. Mosse of William L. Shirer's *The Rise and Fall of the Third*

Reich. It is by far the most intelligent and thorough of the numerous reviews I have read. Too easily the reader is carried away by the dramatic and terrible story of Nazism and fails to note the absence of an adequate framework of reference to historical background and contemporary European and world problems, and is content with the usual too-facile comments on the German personality.

This is but one example, I admit, of the many excellent articles and features of *The Progressive* which make it, in my opinion, a most suitable gift for one's discriminating friends.

GERHARD REHDER
West Roxbury, Mass.

Chessman and the Press

Dear Sirs:

"Did the Press Kill Caryl Chessman?" by Melvin Martin, in your December issue, was absurd. Of course newspapers and magazines influence large numbers of people to their way of thinking. Your policy of printing only articles that are sympathetic to your ideas (as is stated on the inside front cover) makes it obvious that the purpose of *The Progressive* is to influence by propaganda rather than to inform with facts.

The article proved rather weakly that the California papers distorted the facts, but it doesn't really matter. The facts were brought out at Chessman's trial, where the jury, not the newspapers, found him guilty.

If Chessman was not guilty the article should have proved this by evidence, rather than implied it by insinuations. The article says, in effect, that the California papers should have put pressure on the governor to parole a convicted kidnapper and sex pervert who had been paroled five times previously.

Ironically enough, the author did not have enough courage to allow the article to appear under his own name, while he accused the governor of California of not having courage to stick by his own convictions.

EUGENE B. LEWIS
Nashville, Tenn.

Vote for Mayer

Dear Sirs:

The January issue is a most auspicious entrance into a new year by *The Progressive*. Surely it would be difficult to select a second best article from such a wealth of fine writing. But for greatest impact on mind and heart, I vote for Milton Mayer.

R. F. BURLINGAME
Milan, Mich.

Wonderful Progressive

Dear Sirs:

I subscribe to approximately twenty journals, including *The Nation, New Republic, I. F. Stone's Weekly, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, and the like. But if that number were dwindled down to one, you can be sure that last one would be the wonderful *Progressive*.

MARVIN J. NAMAN, M.D.
Santa Cruz, Calif.

BOOKS

Ideology and Power

by JACK BARBASH

HERE IS A collection of books which have a common—but not exclusive—concern with the uses and the evolution of ideologies. The most comprehensive is the massive two volume work by Carl L. Landauer, *European Socialism—A History of Ideas and Movements*. The massiveness of size is fully matched by the intellectual performance. This is a searching examination of socialism as theory and as politics. Socialism, for Landauer, also means tracing its influences on Fascism and Communism in power. Theodore Draper, in *American Communism and Soviet Russia*, continues his historical analysis of the American Communist Party and brings it up to 1929. The excitement, scholarship, and insights of his earlier book (*The Roots of American Communism*) infuse the present work in equal degree. Zbigniew Brzezinski (*The Soviet Bloc, Unity and Conflict*) has written a study of the interactions between ideology and power rivalries within the "socialist camp" of the Soviet Union and its satellites. David J. Saposs (*Communism in American Politics*) probes the adventures of the American Communist Party in the indigenous, left-of-center movements in the United States.

EUROPEAN SOCIALISM — A HISTORY OF IDEAS AND MOVEMENTS, by Carl L. Landauer. Two volumes. University of California Press. 1,894 pp. $20.

AMERICAN COMMUNISM AND SOVIET RUSSIA, by Theodore Draper. Viking Press. 558 pp. $6.50.

THE SOVIET BLOC, UNITY AND CONFLICT, by Zbigniew K. Brzezinski. Harvard University Press. 470 pp. $7.75.

COMMUNISM IN AMERICAN POLITICS, by David J. Saposs. Public Affairs Press. 258 pp. $5.

The ideology which occupies the center of the stage is socialism; but socialism in the books considered here begins with the theme set out by Marx and Engels and then moves to the variations which range from pure exegesis all the way over to the rationalization of absolute power.

Only Brzezinski undertakes to define ideology in a formal way. It is not a closet definition that he advances but one rooted in the raw materials of history:

> "Modern revolutionary ideology is essentially an action program derived from certain doctrinal assumptions about the nature of reality and expressed through certain stated, not overly complex, assertions about the inadequacy of the past or present state of societal affairs. These assertions include an explicit guide to action outlining methods for changing the situation, with some general idealized notions about the eventual state of affairs."

This is a good definition. I want to underscore here the accent which ideology puts on an action outcome as its end product, because the action program is so inextricably tied in with the theoretical analysis. Ideology gives an explicit bias to the theoreti-

cal analysis. There is, of course, ideological content in all idea systems, in the sense of a "class angle." It is precisely because the power program is integral to the theoretical analysis that Marx has become an "ism" but Keynes has not been followed by "Keynesism" nor was Adam Smith followed by "Smithism."

The Brzezinski definition can also be improved by directing attention to the claim which, ideology invariably makes to provide a *total* explanation of "the nature of reality" which tolerates no rival claims, even if the rival claim is a matter of accent and emphasis.

Landauer probes the wellsprings of Marxian socialism with great intellectual power. Environmentally and intellectually, socialism was a direct response to the "realities of early capitalism" and a "reaction to the philosophy which justified these realities . . . Without Adam Smith and Ricardo, there would have been no Marx, for the methods of economic analysis which the classicists had established were an instrument which Marx had to use in his investigation in the nature of capitalism." And without the intellectual movement of Western civilization which came to be known as the Enlightenment there would have been no Marxian socialism. Socialism in Marx's day was in the main line of humanitarianism in its concern with the dehumanizing effects of existing economic relationships. Whatever the ultimate twist which Marxian socialism took as a system of power, its origins run deeply in the classical liberal's concern with the inhumanity of man to man.

Landauer is at his best as he guides us through the intellectual paths that led to Marx and Engels, and the forking of the roads after Marx. Almost all of the ingredients of Marxian socialism were derivative, with the possible exception of what Marx did with the theory of surplus value to lead him into the falling profit rate and "the elements of the business cycle theory." Marx's great achievement was that "he was the first to make all these ideas the component parts of a system . . . He impressed upon whole generations of economists the necessity of examining their institutional presuppositions and upon generations of historians and sociologists the significance, from the viewpoints of their own fields, of economic theory."

Marx was critically important, as Landauer tells us, in integrating the labor movement with socialism, and in so doing he gave the European worker a sense of uplifting mission which no other "exploited" class had ever had. But for many of the same reasons Marx's emphasis on class struggle and the class origins of morality made it easier to rationalize the use of total power and violent conflict as the means to justify the socialist end.

Many revolutionary critics saw the authoritarian potential in Marxism in Marx's own lifetime. In the generation immediately following Marx, the socialist revisionists Bernstein and Jaures sought to infuse Marxism with a liberal humanitarian ethic and a pluralistic theory of the mainsprings of social action. Even Karl Kautsky, the fountainhead of Marxist wisdom after Marx, sought to tone down the hardness of historical materialism because, by this time, socialism was no longer pure speculation but aspired to responsibility as a democratic movement in many countries of Europe.

But just as there were liberalizing influences, there were authoritarian responses to the Marxian system that grew out of feudalistic soils, and here Marxism was used as a road map to absolutist revolutionary power. Lenin, of course, was the main interpreter who drew from Marxism its full ideological implications as a totalitarian system of power. But the same soils that produced a Lenin also produced the Mensheviks and, specifically, a Plekhanov, who rejected the Leninist anti-democratic formulations.

Marxism moved under Lenin from the dictatorship of the proletariat to the dictatorship of the party to the dictatorship of the party elite and the cult of personality under Stalin; all were political instruments of wholesale coercion through which the U.S.S.R. collectivized the total society.

There is much more to Landauer's historical analysis. His field of vision is the whole of European socialism with the exception of Great Britain, which he felt is adequately treated in existing works, and certain countries of eastern Europe where language difficulties made original materials inaccessible to him.

The uses of ideology are illuminated by Draper and Saposs, who investigate the American Communist movement as it responded to the needs of the particular Soviet oligarchy in power in a particular period. In *The Roots of American Communism*, Draper showed with dramatic force the diversity of left-wing elements that went into the making of the American Communist movement in the first flush of revolutionary enthusiasm after the Russian Revolution and how soon the Soviet interest asserted itself to become the main force in the doctrinal and tactical orientation of the U.S. Communist Party.

Draper's second volume explores the nooks and crannies of party intrigue in the American movement, as contending groups sought positions of power. It became increasingly plain that the test of factional survival was not its capacity to make headway in the American scene but the ability of the faction to pick the winner in the ebb and flow of Soviet power rivalries.

In the first Draper book the protagonist, and perhaps the hero, was Lewis Corey, born Louis Fraina. In *American Communism and Soviet Russia*, the protagonist—I'm not sure whether he is a hero or not in Draper's eyes—is Jay Lovestone. The fact that Lovestone is still active, albeit in a posture that completely repudiates his Communist past, lends a special interest to the Draper work.

The pay-off ultimately went to the forces that had Stalin's blessing. In work among Negroes, in political work, in trade union activities, the programmatic frame of reference turned out to be not a tough assessment of the American circumstances but an ideology fabricated to suit the see-sawing of power relationships in the Soviet Union. Draper puts this very well:

> "American Communism has been torn between the conflicting demands of political orthodoxy and mass influence. In the ideal Communist world, piety and power

would always go together, but in the United States where the Communists must compete in the open political market, they have most often obtained power at the price of piety and piety at the price of power. Political orthodoxy, however it may be defined at the moment, has invariably condemned them to sectarianism, isolation, and independence; opportunism has invariably paid off in increased membership, sympathizers, and influence."

The cast of characters populating the American Communist movement is revealed with considerable effect: the secret Comintern representative pulling the strings behind, and sometimes in front of, the scenes, the Party functionaries bowing and scraping for the blessings of the Soviet leaders, the party front organizations set up by the Communists and then destroyed when infiltration ceased to serve whatever the purpose happened to be, the disciplined Communist cadres operating in the unions and front organizations. Above all, what Draper calls "the Bolshevization" of party structure revealed the operational heritage of revolutionary ideology which the Communists took over. Ideology in the American Communist model had no substantive content. It was a system of power accumulation.

The same forces of Bolshevization and infiltration are seen at work in the attempts of the American Communist Party to infiltrate the indigenous left-wing political movements in the depression Thirties and thereafter. This is the subject of David Saposs' *Communism in American Politics*. Saposs is a pioneer student of radicalism in the American labor movement and politics. In this book, he investigates the effect of a piece of power ideology known as the United Front. For the most part his investigation concerns the political movements in the states of Washington, New York, and Minnesota, and, on the national front, the Progressive Party of 1948. In this sense, it dovetails neatly with the post-World War I political enterprises which Draper examines. Here again we observe the same theme: unswerving commitment to received ideology.

Saposs shows that Communist parties somewhere along the line invariably acknowledge errors, but the process by which error is revealed is in the form of a movement of mass debasement, rather than in the interplay of running criticism that prevails in a democratic organization. The acknowledgement of error is made when it is strategically expedient, which may not be for several years after the events.

Brzezinski examines the posture of ideology and power in another context, in the conflicts between the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet bloc. But this ideological model differs profoundly from the American model, where the American Communists have always been supplicants. The satellites started out as Soviet supplicants but moved into positions of power as they became spokesmen for sovereign nations—always, to be sure, in varying degrees of dependence on Soviet largesse.

Brzezinski marks out three phases in the relationship of the Soviet Union to the other members of the bloc. He characterizes the first phase as institutional and ideological diversity. The key to this period is a certain flexibility in economic organization and the degree of ideological conformity to meet the diversity of circumstance. But diversity has great dangers for a totalitarian system because it has a way of getting out of hand, and it did.

The relationship then entered the second phase, institutional and ideological uniformity, marked by the organization of the Cominform as an attempt to solidify U.S.S.R. control and Stalinist primacy. But as some of the satellite countries developed autonomous power—most notably Tito's Yugoslavia—they began to assert their independence and to see a prevision of diverse roads to socialism. The break-off point "from thaw to deluge—institutional and ideological diversity" is symbolized by Stalin's death. In this period Yugoslavia pursued its own road; Hungary and Poland sought their own roads as well, to the point of going to the barricades. The fourth phase—1957-1959—is the Communist commonwealth—institutional diversity and ideological uniformity; here Chinese Communism is accelerating its pace to-

World peace
or nuclear war?

Norman Cousins

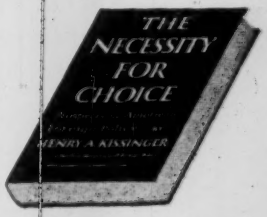
Editor of *Saturday Review*

IN PLACE OF FOLLY

A brilliant statement of the case for sanity and survival in place of the folly of atomic war. For the first time, the complex issue of peace or war in a nuclear age is explored in all its aspects—scientific, political, military, ethical—and a clear specific statement of the alternatives set forth. $3.00

Henry A. Kissinger

Associate Director of Harvard's Center for International Affairs



THE NECESSITY FOR CHOICE

Prospects of American Foreign Policy

This book is an attempt to define the major defense and foreign policy issues before America in the 1960's. It starts from the premise that many of the patterns of policy that have served us up to now will no longer apply. It seeks to assess the contemporary debate and to indicate some possibilities for resolving the policy issues. $5.50

At all bookstores

HARPER & BROTHERS • New York 16

ward Communism in contrast to the Soviet model, at the same time that it parades its ideological orthodoxy in the tradition of Marxism-Leninism.

The lessons of the historic relationship between the U.S.S.R. and the other members of the bloc over time are: (1) the inadequacy of Marxism-Leninism in providing an indisputable body of "utopian" blueprints as an operational guide for economics along a spectrum ranging from Soviet Russia to Soviet China; (2) a compulsive need on the part of the Soviet Union to demonstrate beyond question its own power and ideological primacy in the socialist camp; (3) the manipulation of ideology to protect legitimacy for one power interest or another.

Brzezinski sees some creative force in ideology and will not go all the way—although he goes most of it—in asserting that ideology is nothing more than a cynical manipulation of words and concepts to suit the needs of power aggrandizement. I cannot for myself see this creative force of ideology in 1959, but the author comes by his judgments responsibly. His performance is a work of art in its own right; this is a research undertaking of enormous magnitude and complexity, winding through materials in diverse fields and languages with great intellectual power. As a kind of sociology of ideology it is unequaled by any contemporary research I know about. Throughout the work there is the commendable, and from my viewpoint successful, effort to keep the prodigious materials from running away with the central themes.

These four studies might be called a series of undertakings to illuminate the uses and evolution of ideology. In the pre-power stage, socialist ideology has had a way of making social forces meaningful and subject to change. Ideology accompanied by power seems to become a handmaiden of absolute totalitarian control.

It is, of course, no great feat to find the disparity between ideology and reality. But the power of ideology in the modern world is not in its ability to provide a scientific design and prognosis. It stems from its great power as a creed, as an "ism." The power of ideology, and particularly of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist ideology, in the new nations arises out of its power to appeal to the victims of injustice, who do not care particularly about its obvious and by now commonplace falsity. For many millions the power of the ideology stems from its great thrust to achieve meaningful change.

The meaning of all of this for the non-ideologists — committed to the "bourgeois" virtues of truth and democracy—is to keep hammering away at ideology's essential lack of truth; but more than that, we must find a way of communicating a respect for ethical and moral values that will have something of the power and the meaning to the underprivileged peoples of the world that they seem to attach to ideology. My impression is that the counter-ideology of "people's capitalism" is not adequate to this task.

There may be a real question as to whether these humane values—the respect for individual difference, the scientific temper—can be rendered in ideological terms. And if they *are* rendered in ideological terms, will we have thereby subverted the force of these values in the truly free society? Is there a middle ground between a playing-it-by-ear pragmatism on the one hand and a rigid ideology on the other? Is there a synthesis possible which combines the optimum freedom of action, respect for human difference, and an integrated view of society that has the power of moving peoples suffering from a profound feeling of injustice?

I don't know.

Catholics in Politics

FRONTIERS IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, by Eugene J. McCarthy. World. 155 pp. $3.75.

Reviewed by

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

THE ELECTION of 1960 raised once again the question whether belief in Roman Catholicism is compatible with loyalty to American democracy. One can disregard the contributions of Bible-belt bigotry to this discussion; but an area of legitimate inquiry remains where thoughtful people earnestly seek answers to the question of the relationship of an authoritarian church to a pluralistic society. During the campaign this question was most generally put to John F. Kennedy, who responded, as nearly everyone agrees, with impressive directness and candor. But Kennedy is not the only Roman Catholic in our politics. A comprehensive understanding of the Catholic role in our American democracy would obviously require a more general canvass of Catholic opinion.

In one sense, Senator Eugene McCarthy may be better equipped than John Kennedy to discuss the question of Catholicism and democracy. Where Kennedy's education was entirely secular, McCarthy went to St. John's University, taught at the College of St. Thomas, and for a while contemplated the priesthood as a career. He is deeply versed in Catholic theology. At the same time, as his record in the House and Senate has amply shown, he is a committed and courageous liberal Democrat in politics. His testimony on the problems of reconciling Catholicism and liberalism is hard to dismiss.

The serious liberal argument, I suppose, is that the social philosophy of Catholicism rests on an abstract conception of "natural law" and that the need for an authoritative interpretation of natural law invites all manner of ecclesiastical interference in the civic domain. Senator McCarthy, it is true, does invoke natural law from time to time. He can even on occasion repeat the ritualistic condemnation of "relativism" and "positivism" and assail poor old Chief Justice Vinson's maxim that the only absolute is that there are no absolutes. But it is apparent that McCarthy does not interpret natural law in any rigid or dogmatic way. If he does believe that absolutes exist, he does not suppose that they can be easily applied to the complexities of public affairs. "Neither history nor political theory," he writes, "establishes any basis for the application of the label *Christian* in any absolute sense to politics."

The Christian in politics, McCarthy says, must take care not to mistake his own purposes for those of God. He must avoid "confusion such as that which was manifest in the attempted justification of the Inquisition." The "ideal Christian politician" is "not necessarily the one

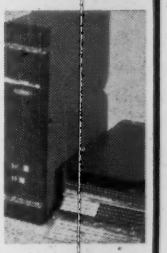
who is seen most often participating in public religious activities or conferring with religious leaders. He is not necessarily the one who is first and most vociferous to claim that his position is the Christian one. . . . He is not necessarily the one who makes of every cause a 'crusade,' presenting himself like Carlyle's crusader as 'the minister of God's justice, doing God's judgment of the enemies of God.' He should himself avoid unwarranted appeals to religion. *He has a very special obligation to keep the things of God separate from those of Caesar.*" (My emphasis).

These terms define Senator McCarthy's political outlook. With his sense of the profound ambiguity of concrete historical reality, he prefers conciliation to crusading. The apostles of "innocence," parading under the standard of "no compromise with evil," seem to him to breed false optimism, oversimplification, and eventual hysteria. In foreign affairs, McCarthy categorically rejects formulations like that of the Congressman who denounced the Truman Administration for having tried to "make a settlement or an arrangement with the devil, Communism, instead of spurning him as Christ did when he was tempted." When the innocent discovers that historical complexity does not respond to his own sense of self-righteousness, McCarthy suggests, he tends to swing to the other absolutist extreme. "The innocent is disposed to favor massive effort and all-out war rather than containment or limited war, to demand action leading to final decision when postponement of trouble or limited and even temporary good may be the best that can be expected." To those who regard talk of coexistence as a diabolical plot, McCarthy rejoins that it is "pointless" to raise the question "since we are now coexisting, and it seems that we will coexist for some number of years in the immediate future."

So far as domestic policy is concerned, Senator McCarthy displays a mistrust, well grounded in papal encyclicals, for the domination of society by an "exploitative and individualistic philosophy." He prefers the Democratic Party, "the party of the newcomers, the challengers, and of those who although once economically and socially established, have been disestablished," to the Republican Party, "the party of the established." He would amend Lincoln's famous aphorism: "Whereas it is true to say that, theoretically speaking, government should do for its citizens only what they cannot do for themselves, in the practical situation it may sometimes be necessary to do for them what they should and could do for themselves, but do not do either individually or through corporate efforts below the level of government action." The Christian in politics should be "the last to label every proposal for social reform 'socialistic.'"

His natural-law commitment creates difficulties for him only in the area of civil liberties. When one believes in absolutes, one believes in a distinction between truth and error founded, ultimately, not on empirical demonstration, but on *a priori* analysis. Believing this, Senator McCarthy must argue, "To say that error has no rights is, of course, true." He continues, "The state can, in the interest of the common good, suppress error which is subversive of the good of human society in its temporal achievement." But his seminary training in dialectics does not fail him; and he adds that it does not follow "that the man who is in error has no rights; neither does it follow that the state should suppress every idea which in the opinion of the rulers of a country is in error." The state should not attempt to eliminate all evil, only certain extreme forms of evil. And in the religious and moral area, "the right of the state to determine and to decide and to suppress error no longer prevails. The right of freedom of religion holds the field." The state does not "have the right or the responsibility to impose what any majority considers true faith upon all of its subjects."

Frontiers in American Democracy provides further evidence that Catholicism constitutes no necessary barrier to a vigorous faith in liberal democracy. It reminds us too that the Catholic Church is not a monolithic institution, like the Communist Party, but includes a wide range of opinion on nontheological issues. Nor should we forget that the emergence of men like Eugene McCarthy and John Kennedy as leading Catholics in our politics will have the effect of estab-



$2.50 each

SAVE YOUR COPIES OF THE PROGRESSIVE

- Each file holds two years' copies.
- Jesse Jones Volume Files for every publication.
- Covered in durable leather-like Kivar, title embossed in 16 Kt gold.

Satisfaction guaranteed

Attractive and practical for your home or office

3 for $7.00
6 for $13.00

ORDER NOW — send check or money order
MAGAZINE FILE CO.
520 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

FREE DESCRIPTIVE FOLDER UPON REQUEST

LIBERALISM IN TEXAS

- TEXAS is the source of much corrosive, reactionary wealth in American affairs—but also of virile, original liberalism.
- THE TEXAS OBSERVER, called "an eloquent voice of the Texas eggheads" by **The Reporter**, has shaken up the whole politics of the state during the last six years—has broken state scandals of public theft and of social neglect—and regularly proposes reforms of national relevance.
- In addition it offers, on its back pages, intelligent comment and insight on "the provincial culture," including East Texas and the South, and is thus "a window to the South."
- The Observer Needs New Subscribers.
- Send $5 for one year of dedicated literate liberalism from Texas to the Observer, 504 West 24th St., Austin Texas, with your name and address.

Name .....
Address .....
City .....
Zone ..... State .....

lishing the Murray-Weigel position—the whole-hearted acceptance of a pluralistic society—as the dominant position in the American church. Above all, *Frontiers in American Democracy* should make Americans grateful that there sits in the U.S. Senate a man of such sensitive intelligence and conscience, such discerning wit and such powerful eloquence as the junior Senator from Minnesota.

EUROPE

A low-cost unregimented tour — a different trip and a unique route. We see the usual — but also Berlin, Scandinavia, Russia, and North Africa.

EUROPE SUMMER TOURS
255 Sequoia, Box P Pasadena, Calif.

Panic in Suburbia

by Tom Burke

MATT JONES is the hero of Keith Wheeler's novel *Peaceable Lane* (Simon & Schuster. $4.50), and he is as nice a guy as you'll find on the streets of any typical American suburb from Scarsdale to Levittown. He is an adman, but don't let's be bigoted: Matt is one of the nice ones. He is a buddy to his young son, and he loves his wife. She is faithful, courageous, attractive, and she organizes a mean car pool.

Matt's only real problems are mortgage payments, but all the families of Peaceable Lane have to deal with them. All eleven are typical exurbanites, friendly enough, though not particularly intimate; at least not until they hear that a Negro is to buy one of the street's finest pictured-windowed homes. The prospect of shrunken property values galvanizes the Lane's residents to action. They meet, and after a good deal of quibbling and conscience-ridden speech-making, they agree to buy the house in question through a syndicate deal. This must be done in secret, of course: the Lane has no restrictive covenant involving race. The deed must be signed by only one among them. A volunteer is called for, and Matt Jones heeds the call.

With the help of a neighbor Matt collects the appointed sum from each resident and buys the house. Almost before he has pocketed the deed, all hell breaks loose. Mr. Barton, a Negro lawyer and professional "blockbuster," hears of the deal; he attempts to spread panic in the Lane, in order to force the whites out, buy their homes for a song, and resell to members of his own race at a handsome profit. Matt is beaten up by Barton's henchmen. His conscience has been bothering him, and it nags intolerably when he learns that the Negro who would have become his next-door neighbor is none other than Lamar Winter, his ad agency's top artist, and a man with whom he has worked, lunched, and joked for years. After a long session of what Matt's advertising colleagues might refer to as "soul-searching," he decides to sell the house—secretly—to Winter.

The artist carries a chip on his shoulder the size of a telephone pole, and when he moves in, Peaceable Lane gives him something of the fight he has been aching for. The street owns a community swimming pool for residents; a bigoted housewife orders it drained after Winter takes his wife and nine-year-old son for a summer afternoon dip. Barton's "blockbusting" techniques culminate in violence that involves both Winter and his white neighbors.

And then, quite suddenly, novelist Wheeler snuffs out the fuse he has set to burning so steadily toward the Peaceable Lane powder keg. When another of the residents prepares to turn tail and run, Winter buys that house as well. He names Matt Jones as manager of the property, thereby defeating Barton's "blockbusting" tactics. But just when the Lane will

CLASSIFIED

BOOKS

LET ME FIND the books you want. Marcia Haskells, 122 S. 3rd Avenue, Mt. Vernon, N.Y.

BAER'S BOOK SEARCH, 2856a Woodlawn Terrace, Memphis 7, Tenn. We will find the book you want.

CAMPS

RICHLY VARIED camp program for 50, spelunking, creative writing, tennis, riding, canoe sailing, woodworking, ceramics, dramatics, week-end visitors and discussions, extended trips. Several staff openings available, opportunity for couple. Co-ed. Robert & Margaret Williams, THE ROCK, R.F.D., Williamsburg, Mass. Write for camp magazine.

FOR SALE

Let us MAKE YOUR OPINION COUNT. Let us SEND IT TO EVERY CONGRESSMAN. EVERY MONTH—33c a month. ACOPOLL (Pro.) 430 S. Mich., Chicago.

TREE RIPE ORANGES, GRAPEFRUIT or mixed organically grown. Not sprayed, dyed, gassed or washed. Grove run $4.50 bushel express collect. Florida Honey $1.95 4½ lb. shipped with fruit or postage extra. Season November through June. ORGANIC ACRES, Box 37, Seffner, Florida.

MAKE YOUR WILL! Simple. Inexpensive, 2 approved Will forms $1. National, Box 48313TP, Los Angeles 48, Calif.

MISCELLANEOUS

HAVE YOU OUTGROWN GODS, SAVIORS, AND SUPERNATURALISM? Is all your concern for people? Then welcome to the ranks of HUMANISTS! We invite you to join the AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION. We have local chapters, publications. Send $1 for special 3 month trial membership (or $5 for full year) to: American Humanist Association, Dep't. P, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

PUBLICATIONS

THE SECULARIST—A fighting monthly magazine for complete church-state separation: presenting Atheist ethics, current Freethought and religious news, interesting articles, books. Subscription and membership $3 a year. American Secularist Association, Dept. P, Box 91, Newark 1, N.J.

THE LIBERAL. If you are a Freethinker, Rationalist or Agnostic, you will want to read this monthly magazine. 24 pages cram full of information that you will never see in the daily press. Book list, reviews, etc. $1.50 a year. Sample copy upon request. Friendship Liberal League, Inc., Box P, 5233 N. 5th St., Philadelphia 20, Pa.

THE FREE HUMANIST—a live-wire, up-to-date, free-thought magazine, 24 pages monthly. Brings you news-notes, happenings, and events in the religious field of interest to rationalists. Send 10 cents stamps or coin for sample copy. $1 per year. FREE HUMANIST, 5526 Westford Rd., Philadelphia 20, Pa.

HAVE YOU read Hayakawa's blast at the Great Books in the latest issue of ETC? Sample copy 25 cents or given as an extra issue with a $4 subscription. Send to ETC., Dept. 22, 400 West North Avenue, Chicago 10, Illinois.

REAL ESTATE

LIVE in a stimulating community! Modern Community Developers offers homes in well planned, intelligently integrated communities in Philadelphia area; Princeton, N.J.; Waterbury, Conn.; Wilmington, Del. Co-op apartments available in Riverdale, Bronx, and Brooklyn, N.Y.C. Write M.C.D., 84 Nassau, Princeton, N.J., or phone Stuart Wallace, Princeton—WAlnut 4-0701.

SPORTING GOODS

SEND 10c for list either shotguns, handguns, rifles, ammunition, or send 25 cents for all lists. Frayseth's, P.O. Box 308, Wilmar, Minnesota.

be required to make an ultimate acception or rejection of Winter, an abrupt *deus ex machina* is introduced in the form of the street's biggest oak tree. Winter speeds home with his new deed, swerves his car to avoid hitting one of the Lane's less tolerant children, and crashes fatally into the tree.

Up to this point, Wheeler has demonstrated a fine sense of organization and pace, though his style is banal and his dialogue disturbingly contrived. (Some verisimilitude is achieved when the men talk together, though they often sound like Hollywood's version of old Flying Tiger pilots out of place in a post-World War II world; then the ladies join their husbands in conversation, and reality goes the way of water drained from Peaceable Lane's swimming pool.) But when Lamar Winter is eliminated so abruptly from the action, the expected comment upon the profound problem of contemporary racial prejudice vanishes with him. Before his death, the Negro expresses hope in the street's children, a pallid half-formed hope that they will someday learn to live side by side regardless of race, creed, or color; otherwise Wheeler chooses to sweep the here-today dilemma of the street's parents neatly under the wall-to-wall carpet—and Peaceable Lane remains, figuratively as well as literally, a dead end.

France as Usual

FRANCE: STEADFAST AND CHANGING, by Raymond Aron. Harvard University Press. 201 pp. $4.75.

Reviewed by

Leon D. Epstein

WRITING BOOKS about contemporary France is a hazardous occupation. Change comes faster than publication. Raymond Aron's experience illustrates the problem. A distinguished French journalist and sociologist, Aron originally gave the lectures meant for this book at Harvard in late 1957. The change from the Fourth to the Fifth Republic in 1958 caused him to write a somewhat different book, finished in early 1959. Finally he added a postscript in early 1960.

Aron's work, then, is up-to-date on most important matters, at least as of the time this review is written. Moreover, it is doubtful that events could move so rapidly as to destroy the value of the book. Aron is a most sophisticated, knowledgeable, and reasonable expositor of his nation's difficulties in adjusting to the modern world. The difficulties are often durable. Algeria is an obvious example. Its future remains unsolved under the Fifth as under the Fourth Republic. Now it is de Gaulle rather than a series of democratic politicians who can neither suppress nor come to terms with the Algerian rebellion.

Because he is de Gaulle, he remains in power anyway. This appears fortunate for France. No more than in May, 1958, is there a visible alternative. No personality nor institution is available to take de Gaulle's place as an effective symbol of loyalty and authority. The choice is not yet, at any rate, between de Gaulle and democracy; it is between de Gaulle and civil war. However, the trouble, as Aron properly says, is that a non-hereditary monarchy like de Gaulle's is necessarily a temporary expedient. A representative form of government remains for Aron the normal expression of French society in the Twentieth Century, and plainly he expects France to return, although in an improved version, to this form. Aron's hopes on this score appear to rest on the recent and rapid industrial modernization of the country and on the assumption that the Algerian question will eventually be settled.

On the Algerian issue, Aron is plainly concerned to evoke in Americans an intelligent sympathy for France's situation. He deals sharply with the facile application of anti-colonial doctrines to France's problems. Aron is by no means convinced that the elimination of European control, and of Europeans, would always increase the liberty and security of individuals. Nor does he look forward with contentment to the day when the West "will be only a small island of wealthy liberal societies" surrounded by poorer and hostile nations, Soviet and non-Soviet.

THE REVIEWERS

JACK BARBASH is professor of labor education at the University of Wisconsin. ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR., professor of history at Harvard, was active in the Kennedy campaign and is a former co-chairman of Americans for Democratic Action. TOM BURKE wrote the play, "Home Is Clear Crossing," which was produced off-Broadway; he is currently a magazine columnist and editor. LEON EPSTEIN, chairman of the political science department at the University of Wisconsin, has specialized in French and British politics. SYDNEY D. BAILEY, currently engaged in research for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, wrote the just published book, "The General Assembly."

Guides to the U.N.

U.N.: THE FIRST FIFTEEN YEARS, by Clark M. Eichelberger. Harper. 147 pp. $2.75.

SHAPING OUR TIMES: WHAT THE UNITED NATIONS IS AND DOES, by Harold Courlander. Oceana Publications. 242 pp. $1.75 paperback, $3.50 cloth.

Reviewed by

Sydney D. Bailey

THE SOVIET attacks on Dag Hammarskjold have helped some people realize what a valuable institution the world has in the United Nations. The presence of the United Nations in situations of tension and disorder helps to restore or maintain calm while the fundamental causes of trouble can be dealt with. The high hopes of the founding fathers may not yet have been fully realized, but we have traveled far in fifteen years. The U.N. is indispensable today.

Here are two books on the United Nations for the man-in-the-street, his wife, and his children. Clark M. Eichelberger writes as a veteran crusader for world organization who is distressed when the U.N. is ignored or abused.

Harold Courlander has had varied first-hand experience with the United Nations, and his approach is somewhat more detached than Eichelberger's. His treatment is fuller, and his book is of slightly better value. It includes thirty illustrations, forty pages of useful appendices, and an index.

Both authors deal fairly and clearly with important questions. Americans who want to understand the problems of Chinese representation at the U.N., which will soon be an embarrassing issue for the United States, will find the facts set out in these books. Both authors leave readers to draw their own conclusions.

What Is THE REALIST Really Like?

Funny you should ask that. We're pleased to introduce you to our mouthless mascot here—and to THE REALIST for which he stands—a unique magazine, irreverent, with criticism and satire NOT for all. Following are some highlights of four controversial (and available) issues:

- AN IMPOLITE INTERVIEW WITH HENRY MORGAN—the acid wit tells why he got fired from his nightly TV show, and rips into such subjects as astrology, phony liberalism, divorce laws, and his philosophy of celebrityhood.
- THE TOLERANT PAGAN—a regular department, analyzing religious socio-politics from Washington to Cuba to the Belgian Congo.
- REALIST FIRST READER—satirical primers explaining such things as telethons and the cold war to sensitive children.
- AN IMPOLITE INTERVIEW WITH DR. ALBERT ELLIS—the author of "The American Sexual Tragedy" discusses rational psychotherapy, the proper use of profanity, the Norman Vincent Peale panacea, and the prudery of D. H. Lawrence.
- AN INDEPENDENT RESEARCH LABORATORY—our gadfly in the advertising culture's ointment works far into the night, actually shaving sandpaper and counting coffee beans.
- NEGATIVE THINKING—miscellaneous heresies ranging from the poetry of Ezra Pound to the semantics of the soul.
- THE SECOND COMING—a fable for our time, wherein the Messiah must swim the TV channels, from What's My Line to The Ed Sullivan Show.
- AN IMPOLITE INTERVIEW WITH JEAN SHEPHERD—the iconoclastic radio humorist delves into such unlikely areas as the thought processes of unhousebroken dogs, the story behind the rent-a-beatnik ads, and the essential immorality of "Tea and Sympathy."
- CORE AND SURFACE—ranging from a three way debate on Wilhelm Reich to a survey of dynamic neutralism.
- MODEST PROPOSALS—a column of Swiftian satire, taking such forms as a travel folder for the Dominican dictatorship or a handbook for employees of an oil company with operations in Saudi Arabia.

The four issues described above cost $1. They're yours FREE with a subscription. Rates: $3 for 10 issues; $5 for 20 issues.

THE REALIST, Dept. P-2 225 Lafayette St., New York 12, N. Y.

Enclosed please find (check one)

- ☐ $1 for the four issues of *The Realist* described in your ad.
- ☐ $3 for a 10-issue subscription — plus those four issues as a free bonus.
- ☐ $5 for a 20-issue subscription — plus those four issues as a free bonus.

NAME .....
(please print)

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... ZONE ..... STATE .....

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT
UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS INC
313 N 1ST ST
ANN ARBOR, MICH
L277
T183 DH